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ABSTRACT

Possible programs for helping low-income families rise out of poverty include training women to obtain jobs. This Volume III of the study takes a close look at one small poverty-ridden community in an attempt to provide a better understanding of the problems confronting such families. Several years of close anthropological observation went into this report. The approach and success of women's employment programs will depend on understanding the problems and possibilities. The other volumes are available as VT 014 885-014 886. (CD)

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A Study of the Effects on the Family Due to Employment of the Welfare Mother

Volume III

I. The People of Road Junction: The Participant Observer's Study of a Rural Poverty Area in Northern Appalachia, with Particular Reference to the Problems of Employment of Low Income Women.

II. Intensive Case Studies of Four Work Types of Low Income Women and Their Families.

Dr. Harold Feldman
Principal Investigator

Department of Human Development
and Family Studies

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

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THE PEOPLE OF ROAD JUNCTION:

The Participant Observer's Study of a Rural Poverty Area in Northern Appalachia, with Particular Reference to the Problems of Employment of Low Income Women

Janet M. Fitchen

F-1888

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SUMMARY

In considering possible programs for helping low-income families to rise out of poverty, recent emphasis has been put on encouraging the women of these families to seek jobs and training for jobs. It would seem important, then, to know a great deal more about the women and their families who comprise the target population. The big questions are: Is employment or job training feasible for these women? Would low-income women accept and participate in such training programs as might be offered? Would the training or the employment actually improve the situation of these poverty families -- and if so, would the effects be long-run or only temporary? We need to know whether proposed Government programs are likely to make a real, positive difference in the lives of poor families. To find out the answers to these questions, we should know a good deal not only about the low-income woman and her family, but about whole poverty-struck communities and the nature of poverty living. Only if we understand the many factors involved in poverty living can we design programs which will: 1) reach the people they are intended to help, and 2) actually improve the life situation of these poverty people.

This report takes a close look at one small poverty-ridden community in an attempt to provide a better understanding of the whole range of problems engulfing such families. The data which formed the basis of this report are the result of several years of close anthropological observation of thirty families which comprise two contiguous rural neighborhoods, here fictionally called "Road-Junction." Together, they form a pocket of severe poverty which clings on the outside edge of a modern, affluent community. What is reported here is entrenched rural poverty, multi-generational and seemingly unbreakable; these are not merely families with low income, but neighborhoods of intertwined, failure-ridden families. Although some of the traits and problems described may be peculiar to the rural setting and the Northern Appalachian region, most would appear to be endemic to poverty anywhere in the U.S.A. The purpose of the report is to fill in the background picture of a poverty community, to help determine the particular problems faced by low-income women relative to employment, specifically, whether and how such women might take on jobs or job-training.

CHILD CARE

To some observers, the most readily apparent deterrent to work is the lack of provisions for child care. The problems of child care, for women with children under about twelve years old are quite obvious. In addition to the problem of care of babies and preschoolers, there are the difficulties of caring for school-age children after school, during vacations, or when sick. In this small rural poverty area, it is apparent that institutionalized day care is unavailable, and is also not particularly desired by most women because they prefer to have relatives, friends, or even strangers care for children in a home setting, rather than taking their children to "institutions". Certainly, more day care facilities need to be provided if women are to be encouraged to take jobs. But in a rural area, where the population is sparce, and where home-type care is preferred, day care centers would be neither economical nor popular. In preference, some of the women of the community -- hopefully low-income women -- should be trained and licensed as day care mothers to provide care for a few children in their homes.

Often overlooked in the discussions of child care for working women, is the real necessity of providing care for school-age children. The present patterns of sending such children to a "baby sitter" after school and on vacations may not be the most advantageous solution from the child's point of view. And the mothers should not be tempted to rely on their older children to take care of the younger children at home unless the youngest child is at least ten years old. The incidence of fire, accident, and neighborhood troublemaking is much too high to leave such children in the care of siblings only slightly older. The government programs should not encourage such lack of adult supervision for children by assuming that a mother whose youngest child is of school age is free of problems of child care. New and imaginative programs for child care are certainly needed if the Government is to encourage mothers of elementary school-age children to work. Perhaps after-school programs at the elementary schools would be of help -- not merely sports for the affluent children whose mothers can transport them home in mid-afternoon, but a full variety of recreational and educational activities lasting late enough in the afternoon so that the mother or father could pick the child up on the way home from work. Also, some women could be trained and specialized in working with school-age children and could run supervised after-school care in their own homes -- which would be upgrading of the present haphazard care and lack of constructive activities which some school-age children presently receive at their "baby sitters." In sum, it could be said that lack of adequate child care deters some women from working, while it makes those mothers who do work anxious about the safety, happiness and welfare of their children. To change both situations will require special attention to see that the child care provisions are made with the needs and preferences of the mothers in mind, as well as the development of the children.

TRANSPORTATION

For many women of rural areas, transportation is also an obvious and real problem. Distances to and from the job (or the training) are large -- and travel is expensive. Riding with a husband or neighbors would seem a likely solution, but in fact, this only works in a few cases where the work hours are the same or the neighbors are on good terms with each other. Probably, however, if more women were working, the possible combinations for car pools would be increased. Because of the low density of population, even a once-a-day bus service would be uneconomical. However, the possibility of using school buses for adult transportation should be studied.

OTHER PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE CONDITIONS OF POVERTY LIVING

Despite the present lack of easy solutions, however, it does not appear that either child care or transportation are the main barriers to women from these low-income families taking on long-term committment to a specific job or training for a permanent job . The real barriers are less obvious, more deeply immeshed in the complexities of poverty living in impoverished communities. This is why so much of the body of this report will deal with aspects of poverty living which, at first glance, might seem less relevant to the problem of women's employment. The underlying deterrents which emerge from the close observations reported on in this study would include the following:

1) The difficulty of doing a large amount of housework on a minimal income and with substandard equipment makes the wife-mother-homemaker job of the low income woman so consuming of time and energy that she would have little of either to devote to a job. Even the thought of a job may be overwhelming for an exhausted, already-overworked woman. The exigencies of poverty spending patterns -- buying small quantities at frequent intervals -- mean more labor for the housewife. And the lack of adequate equipment -- a modern washing machine, automatic home heating, vacuum cleaners, insufficient closet or storage space, and even the lack of running water or of hot water -- may greatly increase the demands on the housewife's time and strength. For such a housewife to consider working outside the home in addition may be out of the question. And if she did work, the "housekeeping" might really suffer. As explained in the report, such a woman would have to work very strenuously for a long time before her earned income would allow her to purchase better household equipment to lighten her burden at home.

2) Other kinds of demands on a woman's time may also be greater or more taxing for women of poverty families than for more affluent women. They may have to help fix and patch up the house, appliances or cars. For these rural poverty families, women were found to spend considerable time running errands -- many of them necessitated by the demands of poverty living (picking up Food Stamps, settling numerous matters at the Court House, etc.) In most cases studied, the husband was employed full-time, with inflexible hours, so that these errands must be done by the wife. Mostly these are time and energy consuming activities and are not particularly satisfying or fulfilling for the woman. Although these other demands may require the same amount of time that a middle class woman puts into her clubs and volunteer activities, the net result for the low-income woman, is exhaustion rather than satisfaction.

3) The problems of health of all the members of the family appear to take more time from these low-income women. Both illness and accidents appear to require more frequent attention from the low-income wife-mother than from the middle-class women. Also, health problems of the women themselves are common -- mostly the nagging, sapping, nondescript "complaints" (both psychosomatic and emotional, as well as purely

physical) -- and make them feel they haven't the strength to take on a job.

4) The family life patterns of these households also serve to deter these women from long-term commitment to jobs or training for jobs. Family instability, the high frequency of family upheaval and crisis, makes it difficult for a woman to plan for the future, makes her feel she cannot commit herself to working in any given job for a long period, or to a training period for a job she might not be able to take on once trained. Instead, she seeks a factory or janitorial type job at the lowest skill level, and is likely to quit fairly soon because of dissatisfaction with the job or with the effects of her working on her husband and children, or because the immediate money crisis is passed, for the time being. In many cases, weak marital ties and the insecurity of the husband who is not very successful as a provider combine to deter the woman from working because her husband does not want her to have the freedom and the financial independence which a job might bring her. So she goes along on the insufficient income of her husband, or gets Welfare help rather than talking her husband into letting her take a job.

These four, then, are some ways in which the adaptations to poverty may prevent women from seeking training or jobs -- and represent more difficult problems for women's employment programs than the more tractable issues of child care and transportation. (Each of these four points is elaborated, with examples, in the report -- Chapter VII.)

POOR QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DOMINANT SOCIETY

There is another, more general barrier to the participation of these women in the kind of job and job training programs which may be available. There is a generally poor relationship between the people of these rural pockets of poverty and the "outside world" (or the affluent world, or the dominant society.) Suspicion, mustrust and sheer ignorance of the workings of the dominant society tend to make these people withdraw from it. The number and variety of interactions with the outside world are kept at a minimum -- the economic connections (jobs, buying, etc.,) and the contact through schools are unavoidable --

and the quality of these interactions is generally poor. The relationship with the many services, social and governmental agencies and institutions of the dominant society, is generally not satisfactory. Despite some efforts by some agencies to improve their out reach, in part these poverty families are not reached because they do not want to be reached. The lack of positive articulation with the institutions of society would tend to hinder women's participation in Government employment or job-training programs. Thus, better job programs and more publicity of them are only a part of the answer for these women. The relationship of poverty families with the dominant society must be improved by long, slow processes before even the best of programs will be successful in helping them.

POOR SELF-IMAGE OF THESE WOMEN

Connected closely with the low caliber of the relationship between these families and the dominant society is the factor of a generally low self-esteem that characterizes these communities, these families, these women. This low self-image is derived from their cumulative failures in so many aspects of their lives, and is magnified and reinforced by their knowledge that society shuns them as "trash." In a self-fulfilling manner, the judgments of society work on these people to further erode them, and to ensure that the discouragement of one generation is passed on to the next -- a crippling legacy, the crux of the cycle of poverty. From a lifetime of crushed hopes and in the midst of impoverished living, it is hard for these women to believe that they themselves could become trained for good, long-term jobs which really would pull them out of poverty.

Thus, the general tone of this report will indicate that the difficulties for poverty women to participate in job programs are multiple and complex, and much rehabilitative work needs to be done with the women, the families and the poverty communities to bring women to the point where participation in government programs can be either feasible or successful.

However, in designing programs, it is very important to consider the age and stage-in-the-life-cycle of the target women. It would appear that the barriers to participation in employment programs are fewer, less complex, and more easily overcome for younger women. For women up to, say thirty, the discouragement and poor self-image are not so marked. Their more recent schooling makes them better prepared for jobs (and for job training) and they appear more inclined to use the formal institutions and programs of society. For them, child care and transportation may be the most real barriers to entering the job world -- and these are not difficult to overcome. The provision of more part-time jobs -- so women could work while their children are in school, but be home with them after school -- appears to be an important solution for these younger women. Older women, however, are more resigned to a life of poverty, have transferred their own hopes for a better life to their children, and are more withdrawn from and afraid of the "outside world." Furthermore, they are more weakened and worn out from bearing and rearing children, from the never-ending series of family crises, and from inadequacies of home and of diet.

The approach which Government programs whould take, and the kinds of problems which must be tackled may be quite different, then, depending on the age (or stage-in-life-cycle) of the women involved. It is important to keep in mind, though, that poverty living degenerates people rapidly and progressively as the years go by, and that these women become "old" quite early in life. Every effort should be made now to work with the younger women, while they are still young, even in the midst of the baby-producing stage -- to prepare them for being able to take jobs later on. At the same time, more wide-ranging programs can begin the process of rehabilitation of families of all ages and of whole communities of poverty families.

The report which follows describes this sample poverty community in considerable detail so that a realistic understanding of some of the problems and possibilities posed by women's employment programs can be achieved.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a study of a rural, semi-isolated area in a Southern Tier county in New York State. Although the area, here called Road-Junction, was predominantly agricultural from its settlement in the early 1800's, the Twentieth century has seen a near-total decline in agriculture due to soil exhaustion and The Depression. Today, Road-Junction is a rural depressed area which exists on the fringes of a larger, affluent urban-suburban community. "The Junction" is the remnant of an earlier community, a small Nineteenth century trading center for a surrounding agricultural area, formerly having its own school, stores, shops, churches and formal organizations. It is now merely a crossroads neighborhood of 23 households quite densely settled but socially fragmented and lacking in community institutions, which lies on isolated back roads over 15 miles from an urban center in which jobs, shopping, secondary schools, entertainment and social services are available. "The Road" consists of 12 households strung out along a minor road leading from The Junction, and is in no sense a community, but an assemblage of inter-related families. Taken together, and referred to as Road-Junction, the area has 35 households, 30 of which are included in this study, 19 in The Junction 11 on The Road. (The other 5 were not studied because they are so new to the area or, in two cases, because they are not really a part of the neighborhood, merely sleeping in rented apartments.)

The general poverty of the Road-Junction area is very strikingly revealed visually -- run-down houses and shacks, unpainted and patched, standing askew, often nearly abutting the roadway, the dirt yards covered with trash, junk cars, car parts, old appliances. Inside, hot water and even cold water is lacking in many homes, toilets may not flush, lighting is minimal, heating is inefficient and potentially dangerous, and crowding is inescapable. A host of economic and other problems shackle the occupants to a life of poverty. Chronically insufficient income to meet the family's needs is a lifelong struggle for many families: all 11 families studied on The Road are chronically poor and 7 of the 19 in The Junction are chronic low-income families. The poverty of Road-Junction is indicated by the small weekly paycheck, the low annual income, the high proportion of people who are current or recent recipients of Welfare help (7) or Government Food Stamps (13). In addition to the economic poverty of the area, there is a social and psychological poverty -- an attitude of resignation; an awareness that the outside world looks disparagingly on the residents of this area; a low level of goals; a low level of achievement of goals set by the dominant society and held in at least modified form by these people; a breakdown of social relationships, leaving the household as a fairly isolated, independent unit; and a high incidence of temporary and permanent family breakdown. Many of their children (labeled "disadvantaged" at school) are the low-achievers or trouble-makers at school, or the dropouts; some of their teenagers and young adults are in trouble with the law; and a number of adults carry the burden of unsuccessful lives. It does not appear that the area is any less depressed (or distressed) now than it was a generation ago, or that it will be any less so in the next generation. The long-run reputation of the area has been as one of the poorest or "worst" places in the county, and current information on income and housing conditions would bear this out, as would the reports of school personnel, Welfare and service-agency staff, police officials and others who have dealt with these people over the years. But what is life like within these neighborhoods, and what is the quality of the interaction between Road-Junction people and the outside world? Answers to these questions may reveal why the characteristic poverty and defeatism are perpetuated through the generations. In some measure, the social workers and other sensitive people who work with these families are aware of these answers; some have considerable insight into the problems of particular families. The present study, however, attempts to understand a whole cluster of rural poverty families, to enable generalizations to be made, and to reveal the way in which some of the problems of individual families are the result of community factors. This, then, is a study not only of rural poverty families but of a poor, rural "community".

This study is based on participant observation done sporadically over two years and done more intensively during a third year. I first came to know these people through tutoring some Road-Junction children in their elementary school. It quickly became apparent that family and community characteristics had a significant bearing on the needs of these children for remedial work, and that such "band-aid" help would have only slight effect on the child in view of the overwhelming problems which comprised these children's environment. Another early contact with some families was gained through doing interviews for an education committee attempting to discern community attitudes towards the school system and the financing of it. I later became involved in organizing summer recreation programs and other school-oriented activities aimed at these children and their families, and in spreading information about Food Stamps, health clinics, and many other events and services. In connection with these various projects, my circle of acquaintances widened, and as I became a friend of several families, the acquaintances deepened. During this period I began writing down field notes -- which cover a great number of home visits plus a wide variety of other occasions which provided ethnographic data. For example, in doing such activities as accompanying women to the Court House on various family problems, to the Social Services Department to apply for assistance or food stamps, to the school to discuss a problem with a principal, etc., many observations have been made on the interactions of these people with the outside world and their feelings about that outside world and about themselves.

My interaction with the community has been a two-way thing: I have helped them (as individuals, families and neighborhoods) in whatever way I could, and they have provided ethnographic data, both unwittingly and consciously. Once my decision was made to collect and systematize my observations, I discussed my intentions with my informants, but no significant change in our relationships has occurred. I have never had straight sessions of probing my informants for information, but have let it come in the natural course of our interaction. No questionnaires have been used at any time, and although some families are much more well-known to me than others, I do have at least minimal demographic data on all thirty households in the study.

I have continually been pleased to find how receptive people have been to my visits. Even when I was a stranger or when I had no particular reason for making a visit, I have been welcome in almost all cases. This is not to say, however, that the people were always completely open in discussing family matters: much of the information I have obtained for any particular family has come only after many months of frequent visits. Over the course of the three years of working with these people, I have observed several families quite closely, visiting several times a week, going on errands with them, watching them overcome both small and major crises in their lives, often serving as a listener, "someone to talk to", and as a liason to the institutions of society. Naturally, much of the information I have is highly personal, and is included in my reporting only insofar as it is characteristic of more than one individual. Of course, the usual anthropological conventions of disguising place names and personal names is essential. I would like to point out, however, that the specific location of this community is entirely irrelevant anyway, as my preliminary investigations in other rural pockets of poverty in the same region tend to corroborate what I have found here. Road-Junction is not idiosyncratic: it appears to represent numerous other rural poverty clusters of Northern Appalachia.

It is the basic premise of this paper that a great many facets of life bear on the question of women's working, and that these factors and their interweaving are most likely to become evident through long-term observation of the families in their own setting. If one is to understand why these women do or don't work, their attitudes towards work, and the effects of working on their families, one has to know a great deal about the everyday running of family life, the nature of rural poverty living and its many effects on the individual and the household.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Livelihood - Earning a Living

By and large the Road-Junction people are "working poor" -- most men hold fairly regular, steady jobs. But with limited skills and erratic work histories, they tend to cluster in certain low-paying jobs which do not provide adequate income, particularly for large families, or where there are complications of unusual expenses or debts. There are no jobs within the Road-Junction area, and most of the workers drive at least 15 miles away to work. The biggest single type of employment for men is with the State, Town, County and City highway and maintainence crews: at least 5 men are regular crew members, one of them is a crew boss. Several men work in the factories in the City. One works on the railroad, one is a welder in a steel fabricating plant, one works for a moving firm. Several work in construction, with one man now a foreman for his firm's plumbing contract jobs. One man actively farms, and at least two of the retired men were formerly farmers. One man has run a bar, but is now an apprentice learning a trade. One man is self-employed in demolition -- he tears down old buildings, saving the materials to resell later. A few adult men do not have regular jobs. Excluding 4 retired men, the non-workers consist of unemployed young high-school dropouts who work intermittently or are awaiting the Draft, and one man whose chronic alcoholism makes him unable to work. Currently, 2 men are temporarily out of work due to injury on the job, and one is unemployed because a construction firm went bankrupt.

Eight of the women of the area presently work in the city, mostly in janitorial and factory jobs, though there is also a semi-skilled worker and a bookkeeper. Other women don't work due to problems of transportation, lack of child-care facilites, husband's disapproval, low skill level and low self-image, as well as the exhausting demands of housekeeping in a substandard house with inadequate equipment and many family members. A small factory which employed several Road-Junction women for short or long periods, recently closed down. (A separate chapter will be devoted to women and work.)

Income levels are either generally low or seasonally variable. The earnings are always phrased in terms of the paycheck, take-home pay, never in terms of annual income. A highway crew member in 1969 was bringing home $92.00 per week for a family of 7; his normal salary now (1971) is $111.00 per week "clear".

Another gets $208.00 for two weeks for a family of 6, another brings home about $85.00 for a family of 4 1/2. Such jobs normally provide occasional overtime benefits, which make the difference between not making ends meet and just getting by. The $111.00 salary figure, for example, occasionally goes as high as $143.00, but this is unusual. In periods of economic recession, overtime is cut out, not only by State and local highway departments, but also by factories, so that these people suffer an effective cut in salary.

To supplement, or substitute for, regular income, there are a few other sources of money available. An important source of supplemental money for some people is the buying, trading, repairing and selling of cars and car parts. Though this activity does not bring in any steady income, or in any large amounts ($15.00, $50.00, and $100.00 are common figures) it does provide extra money now and then for general living and for extra expenses such as fixing up the house. Furthermore, this activity of car fixing, trading and selling keeps the families provided with some form of semi-dependable transportation most of the time -- a factor which is absolutely essential to families living so far from their jobs and shopping and their other necessary business. Cars, wrecks, parts, etc. are traded and bought from neighbors and from acquaintances all over the county, and this dealing is one of the real connections between men in this area: "my husband doesn't talk to those neighbors at all, unless he wants a car part from them or has a car to sell them".

Also to be considered as an important source of income is Welfare or Public Assistance. At any given time there are about 5 families (one-sixth of those studied) or more who are receiving this aid. Many families have had welfare help at one time or another, depending on periods of non-employment or absence of the husband-father. Some families go off and on welfare as their situation warrants, using it as a last resort when things don't seem possible any other way. Many families who are receiving or have received welfare help are sensitive about the stigma attached (indeed even on the school bus children have sometimes taunted other children about being on welfare, even if the allegation is not true at the time) and to a surprising degree, people are aware of how much welfare money other families are getting, and may be quite critical of the way it is being spent. However, a more real and deeply-felt objection to going to "The Welfare" for help is the fear of restrictions on their options to act for themselves and a fear of their loss of freedom to control their own lives. The fear that The

Welfare will take away or force them to sell their land or their cars, and even that The Welfare will attempt to take away their children. For most of these people who live in this kind of poverty, on the borderline between just barely getting by and not making it, it is extremely important to be free to choose their own options, to be able to make whatever moves they think might bring some relief: they feel a need to be free to spend money to buy yet another wrecked car, if the possibility exists that that car could be fixed up with a neighbor's engine (for which one might trade a TV set) and sold for as much as ten times what was paid for it, minus the value of a few nights and weekends of work and some parts. A wife wants to be able to accept her husband back and attempt to keep him a while, even if it means using some of that Welfare check to buy him booze. In the day-to-day kind of living of these families, such freedom to move (even to move physically) is an essential adaption to poverty living -- and the threat of losing this, as well as the swallowing of pride makes some people reluctant to turn to The Welfare. Generally, many people, including those on Welfare feel that you usually don't get your fair share from Welfare, that "they always try to give less than they are supposed to," and that in return, they urge you to leave your husband or to move away. Nonetheless, some people suffer along with the Welfare problems for the duration -- which may be a few months or many years.

Patterns of Spending

With the money which, from whatever source, does come into the household, there are various patterns of control and disposition. Most people are paid weekly on Friday; Welfare checks come every two weeks, as do pay checks from the State highway department. In most families, the husband retains control of the money, keeping the cash and giving his wife a daily or weekly amount, mostly "for groceries". Extra money earned by the husband, as from selling cars, is for his own disposal -- and similarly, a wife has control over small bits of money she acquires -- but usually it is spent on clothes for the children. Full-time employed women bank their paycheck and draw on it for major payments such as house payments. But the prevalent and common pattern of spending money, no matter who doles it out to whom, is a payday-to-dayday cycle of getting and spending money and being out of money again by the next payday. A family may pay one "major bill" each week of the month -- the electricity one week, the heating the second, the phone the third (if there is a phone) or rent or doctor's bill, an installment on a loan or on a back bill the fourth, and so just make it through four weeks to begin the cycle all over again. "When a month has five Fridays in it we're really in luck, because there's one paycheck where we don't have to take a big chunk out of it right away to pay a major bill -- so we can splurge, like buying a few extra groceries or a new jacket for one of the kids up at the discount store or something." Thus, the money, in whatever amount and whenever it is available, goes; and Thursday night finds a family eating light -- spaghetti or potatoes with not much to go with them, just enough gas in the car to get to work, or if there are two cars, the wife's car out of gas, and she may have to pay $2.00 to a neighbor to take her to town to get groceries next day.

A breakdown of the family's buying habits would show that food is, generally, the major expense, with weekly figures like $18.00 (for a family of 5) to $40.00 or more for families of 6 and up, but with flexibility within families, depending on the current supply of money, and with a big range among the families. Most women shop in the large supermarkets once a week, or once every two weeks, and quite a few women pick up small items in between times at the nearby small grocery stores, where prices are higher. Lack of sufficient refrigerator space (or of any refrigeration in at least one case) and of storage space for other foods may mean more frequent trips to the small stores. For those who are on Food Stamps, there is general satisfaction with the benefits of the Stamps, though gripes about new regulations or about the amount the Social Services Department figures a family should pay. The Stamps make a real difference in their ability to get by each month. Several wives say they now can get more fresh fruits, vegetables and milk than before, and that their husbands now have less to say about how the grocery money is spent or what proportion of the total money available is spent on food. One mother commented, "It's really nice to be able to buy the kids a candy bar now and then -- we never could do it when we were on surplus foods. My husband and I, we don't mind too much scrimping and doing without during the time of year when he's laid off, but for the kids, we feel that now and then the kids should get a treat." Food stamps are used in the large groceries in the city and in the two small stores in neighboring hamlets.

Expenditures for clothing are seasonal (school clothes in the fall, winter wear, summer clothes) and clearly determined by the amount of money available at the particular time. Clothes which are bought new mostly come from the discount stores in the shopping centers 15 miles or so away -- and a frequent Friday night family outing is to go to such a store. A large part of the family's clothing comes from rummage sales -- all over the county, whenever and wherever they are held. Free, donated clothing is commonly used -- coming from relatives, friends, and official organizations, (such as the pre-kindergarten at school, and the local anti-poverty agency.) The housewives themselves often neglect their own needs for sufficient clothing -- a warm coat and waterproof footwear for the mother are the most frequent hallmarks of an overstrained family budget -- she considers that she can do without these extras until more money is at hand.

The necessary appliances and furniture for family living are acquired from many of the same sources as the clothing. Most come second hand at best. An inventory of some houses reveals a surprising number of articles gotten from the town, city and county dumps. Almost every family has a TV, and sets range from very old and in poor working order up to nearly new. Other furniture is donated by acquaintences, or swapped; occasionally furniture or appliances are bought new or nearly new on time payments and some of these have to be repossessed. Some people have purchased such things as a refrigerator or beds with the help of Welfare. For the house itself, supplies to repair it or to make improvements or additions are bought wherever thay can be had cheap, even if it means going a considerable distance in the car and buying unmatched lots.

The house itself may be a major expense or a very minimal one. More people own than rent their homes, but there are a few renters -- at least 5, and 4 families are currently buying their present homes on land-contract. Rent or land-contract payments are a constant struggle, sometimes met by the wife's working, sometimes proving too much and the family moves to cheaper quarters. One family with three children still at home pays over $100.00 a month rent for a large but ill-repaired house; a family of 9 pays $155.00; on the fringe of Road-Junction, 2 families (10 people) share a large dilapidated isolated farmhouse which costs $35.00 per month. A family of 4 pays $60.00 monthly on land-contract for trailer and lot. One family of 7 paid $1,000.00 about 8 years ago in monthly installments to buy their house, and have fixed it up considerably with time and money investments, but owe no rent or mortgage. Several other families on The Road, especially, have "free" housing, as the house has been in the family for generations or cost a small enough amount to buy to be paid for quickly.

The most run-down housing, the shacks, are owner-occupied, but the rented homes are not necessarily up to census standards either. There are 6 families now living in house trailers -- ranging from a very small old-style one in disrepair for a family of 6, to a very large mobile home of the newest type (admired by the neighbors) with a wood frame addition in back, which appears extremely crowded with its family of 10. (This family has been unable to pay for a septic system and well - as there are none presently - and "Welfare" won't help them.)

Another recurrent expense is fuel for heating the house -- frequently kerosene, which most people buy at the grocery store in a nearby hamlet. Kerosene is usually bought in small amounts at frequent intervals: one family buys only enough for two days of winter heating at a time, picked up by the husband on the way home from work. For them a holiday or a bad snowstorm can mean they run out of fuel. The odor of kerosene from leaky space heaters is a noticeable greeting upon entering many a house or trailer. Although some houses are uncomfortably cool and drafty, many are very warm indeed, at least in some areas, so that small children run around in diapers and undershirts. A fan may be hung or propped above the kerosene space heater to blow some of the heat into another room. Some people heat their homes with oil, and quite a few cook on bottled gas. One or two houses rely heavily if not totally on wood for heating. A number use the kitchen stove as an auxiliary heater.

Other household and personal goods are obtained wherever they can be got cheap -- often second-hand, but if new, most likely from the discount stores. Toys for children, especially for Christmas, may involve considerable expense, as mechanical and up-to-date toys advertised on television are frequently desired; but donated toys and toys gleaned from the town dumps are also common. A few families own motor boats for going fishing -- most are at least second hand, but prices have ranged from $500.00 to a reported figure of $2,000.00.

Medical expenses are a continuing problem for many families. Some families owe outstanding medical bills from years ago, others incur bills which they can only pay off in installments. It appears that many people are quite confused about their Medicaid -- what it covers, when it expires, how far back it covers, how much it pays, whether one is eligible, etc.. Some people have insurance through their place of employment, sometimes covering the whole family. Certainly, preventative and remedial work, particularly dental work, is put off as long as possible in many a family. As one woman put it, "My husband and I would rather not go to a doctor at all. For the kids it's all right, but not for us. We haven't got that kind of money. Sure, rich people can have their kids' teeth checked every six months. But us? Forget it!"

Money problems are constant in some families, and they may be seasonal in many families. The start of winter, for example, is often a bad time for many because there are all the expenses of winter -- warm coats and boots for the kids, high fuel bills, maybe a new battery for the car so it will start in cold weather, the big expense of Christmas presents for the immediate family -- and all this comes at a time when some employed men face a lay-off period or a cut-back in work during the winter months. As cold weather approached, one woman became noticeably more concerned over the lack of money to meet family expenses. "I'm not sure how we're going to get through. We haven't got much food and I'll have to get things like boots for the kids soon." Then she mused:

> "If we had all the money in the world, I ask myself, would we really be happy. No, I don't think so. But its hard this way, with me not working. It's like a circle, like a merry-go-round. You're always just going round and round. And sometimes you feel like saying 'stop the world, I want to get off.' Like every week we use the money for just certain things. We pay one big bill -- like the gas or the electricity or the phone or the $5.00 each week to pay off the doctor. Then we pay for groceries. Then we just have a little left over for other things we need . . . . I really don't know what we'd do if something extra came along, some unexpected thing to pay for. Well my husband will get this Volvo on the road and we'll take the Thunderbird off the road, so we can save on gas -- the Thunderbird uses so much. So, we'll save a little on that."
>
> "No, as I say, I don't think having lots of money, being rich, would necessarily make us happy. If we had lots of money -- well, I could get all the clothes the kids could wear on their backs, and I could have nice clothes, and we could get lots of food, and we'd get a new car (newer, anyway, than the present one) -- maybe two new cars, and we'd be out of debt, and we'd fix up the house -- this house. But I don't know. Even people that are rich have their problems. I've even been in some houses of very rich people -- rich enough to have a maid, and they even have stuff all over the place and laundry waiting to be ironed -- and maybe they aren't any happier and their kids get to be problems 'cause they had everything handed to them...No... But if we could get $150. a week (husband currently bringing home about $90. per week) we could sure use it. We could get along much better. Like this week, I told my family we wouldn't have nothing but bread and potatoes, milk and stuff like that to eat 'cause we just don't have the money."

Implications for Women's Employment

One could consider, from purely a financial standpoint, why more women in these Road-Junctions families don't take jobs, to what extent the extra income would help the family overcome its problems, and whether it is actually financially advantageous for women from these families to work. It is important to note here that of the 30 families studied, 4 have only elderly people, one has a man only, but 25 families contain women of working age. (This analysis will be expanded in a later chapter.) Of these 25 families with women of working age, only one is a one-parent household (woman only), so that 24 out of the 25 families with working-age women are two-parent households. Thus, the woman is not the only potential breadwinner in most cases. However, the employment and income picture for the male breadwinner is not very good, as indicated in this chapter. Although at any given time most of the men have jobs (only one is chronically unemployed) there are usually a few temporarily unemployed and most men have had somewhat unstable or insecure employment, with low wages characteristic. Theoretically, if one considered the net income of each household's wage earner, it is conceivable that that income could cover the family's living expenses -- but this would assume that the income was stable, that it had been steady and was likely to continue so. Furthermore, though the income at any given time might cover normal living expenses, many families have accumulated back debts or unexpected expenses which cannot be met out of regular income. This fact, combined with the unsteady earning ability of the men, leads to the chronic shortage of money. Money is budgeted on a recurring basis of paycheck to paycheck, and just barely covers current, regular living costs -- and when income drops or expenses rise, the family living so close to the line goes into debt, or ts Welfare help, or merely does without needed items.

Perhaps it appears that the budgeting and money-use patterns of these families are somewhat uneconomical, at least from a middle-class viewpoint. Some of the well-known poverty buying habits prevail -- buying groceries in small bits as money is available; buying the cheapest goods, and thus having to buy more of them to replace those which don't last. Furthermore, some families may spend money in ways which appear extravagant by middle-class standards. The common criticism of poor people that they squandor money on unnecessary luxuries while neglecting important items is only partially true, however. In such things as recreation, for example, several women have said that they have to allow their husbands to spend money on such things as a boat or a new TV because otherwise they fear their husbands would turn to drink -- an alternative they know is much worse. Also, a man needs to spend money to gain options -- a kind of gambling, perhaps. He will spend the family's small reserve on yet another used car to add to the collection in the yard. He does this as an investment, figuring he can use the car, or fix it up to sell, or "part it". If these patterns of spending money appear "uneconomical" or even "wasteful" to the middle-class judgment, it is because the nature and constraints of poverty living in a disintegrated community are not understood or taken into account.

Given the kind of family economic situation described, the question arises as to whether the cushion of a second income, earned by the wife, would make a real difference. Indeed, the added income would mean that unexpected expenses or temporary unemployment of the husband might not throw the family behind financially. But the answer must be qualified, for in reality, the woman's actual dollar contribution is not apt to be very large because of the expenses she would incur for transportation and child care, if any, plus the loss of savings previously derived by her spending time going to rummage sales, etc. to pick up the family's goods at cheaper prices. These costs would have to be weighed against the earnings, which would likely be quite low in the first place, due to the woman's lack of skill and job experience. The child care costs could be eliminated by the wife working only half-time during school hours (if no preschool children), leaving only transportation costs, the expense of decent clothing for herself, and so forth -- still taking a sizeable bite out of a half-time salary. And in fact, half-time jobs are very hard to find anyway. Those women who do work while children are young manage to come out ahead by having a mother-in-law babysit, or by working at night when the husband can care for the children. The possibilities for in-neighborhood arrangements for child-care are somewhat limited, however, by the low degree of social cohesion between neighbors in Road-Junction (even close relatives) and by the instability of family life. The nature and effect of these characteristics will be brought out in the next chapter on social organization.

From the present chapter, the relevant conclusions would be that more money is needed by most of these families, but that jobs for the women, at least while any of their children are young enough to need supervision, are not necessarily a workable solution. Instead, improvements in the husband's earning power, combined with the training of women in household management, might help. Women could also receive, during their child-rearing years, counselling and motivation and training to enable them to get jobs later on in life when holding a job would be more feasible in terms of their available time, and more profitable financially. Such recommendations as these will be discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Continuity of Residence

One of the striking sociological features of this area is the continuity of local residence. For many families, there are deep historical roots. One elderly man, for example, traces an unbroken line of antecedants back to the very earliest settlers of the Township, and some of his descendents, down to the third generation below him, continue to carry the pioneer names in Road-Junction today. About one-third of the total families studied are third-generation families in the Road-Junction area, meaning that the grandparents of present adults lived in the same area. Many other households have one adult member who grew up in the neighborhood, and several have both adults living in the same neighborhood in which they were raised. Only a few families are recent. There have been some transient families, living in Road-Junction for a few years (often after being burned out of a home in a similar rural poverty area not far away), then moving on to another such area. Most adults of the area, though, have lived most of their lives right there or nearby, and even though many sisters and brothers have moved out over the years, the family line continues in the area because some members have always stayed or have returned. The location of an adult's primary relatives who do not live in this immediate area is mostly confined to the same half of the county and to bordering counties. An older adult may have grown children in several of the nearby villages and scattered through open country -- quite often residing in very similar pockets of poverty. But not all grown children move away: in many families, they move in nearby, on the same family property or adjacent property. There is an apparent tendency for temporary matrilocal residence of a young couple from the area, and especially if a woman has no husband at the time, or is having marital or financial problems, she is apt to move in with her parents in the same house or in a house or shack built on the property or elsewhere in Road-Junction. As a more permanent residence, the pattern (if not neolocal) is more patrilocal, with several cases of sons settling down next to their parents, saying it's the only place they know, the only place they feel at home. Accustomed to inadequate housing and overcrowding from birth on, a young married adult is apt to feel that moving into or beside an already overcrowded household is better than leading a miserable life in the outside world. And here one can find money-saving benefits, such

such as cheap housing, free or cheap babysitting so that a woman may work, shared transportation, and so forth. Thus the residence patterns which give the Road-Junction area its overall continuity are derived from factors of poverty, operating together with kinship principles.

Poverty and a multiple-problem existence have been handed down through the generations in these families. Of the adult couples of Road-Junction now living in poverty or saddled with multiple problems which keep them operating ineffectively, many had parents with the same sorts of difficulties. For example, among the families of The Road, in the case of two brothers who are heads of households, their mother died when they were very young, the boys were sent to foster homes, their father ended up in a mental hospital, and their stepmother could barely feed them. The wives of each of these two men also spent part of their childhood in "institutions" (orphanage, foster home). Others of the adults grew up in one-parent homes with poverty levels of living. Several Road-Junctions adults have siblings in mental institutions or mentally retarded but non-institutionalized. Many adults have stories to tell of the poverty or abandonment they suffered in their childhood.

In contrast to this long-term continuity of residence in the area, there is a family high degree of mobility within the area: families move in and out from one house to another, a new trailer or a converted bus comes in, houses become vacant, and a branch of one family, such as a married daughter, moves out from the parents' house into a nearby vacant house.

Nature and Importance of Kinship Ties

A striking feature of this rural area is the importance of kinship in the social organization. There is a remarkably high number of primary kin ties linking the various households, and a network of connections of more distant kinship. The impression is that nearly "everybody is related to everybody else" in one way or another, and indeed, this is borne out by preliminary studies of kinship patterns.

The real network of kinship exists among the families of The Road, where kinship ties are the most obvious aspect of social relationships. Eight of the 11 families are very tightly interconnected by primary kinship ties and as they say, "It's just two big families all along this Road", and, "you're either part of one family or part of the other -- unless you're part of both, and then it's really thick." The basic anchor points in this network are two brothers and a sister from one family line and two brothers from another family; with one marriage between the two family lines.

It is very clear that kinship is a far more important connection between people here than it is in the average middle-class American society, or in the middle-class society of the local county. Merely in terms of geographic proximity a child grows up seeing and knowing a larger share of his relatives. Visiting patterns, babysitting, and doing other favors seem to follow kinship lines somewhat. Family feuds often line people up on the side of their own kin. However nearly as frequently, arguments between households are within family lines so that clear cut clan feuds of long standing are not predominant. Accusations and threats between any two households are indeed very common occurrences, suspicion is endemic, and actual violent or anti-social behavior between members of the various families on The Road is frequent also -- it may be small things such as stealing gasoline from each other's cars, or more expensive and anti-social aggravation, such as shooting each others' horses or dogs, or it may involve fights and brawls. It would seem, however, that such hostile interaction between the families on The Road is not strictly a matter of two opposing kinship units -- more, it is symptomatic of the poor level of social interaction of a tight cluster of families, each living with its own particular problems and miseries, each forced for various reasons to rely on each other and to confine their social interactions mainly within this circle of families because of inability to interact successfully with the outside world One may wish to keep better company, but this is the only company one can get. One must have transportation, and if one cannot get somewhere by him or herself, he or she will ask a neighbor. One must use a telephone at a neighbor's, leave the kids with a neighbor, get a neighbor to call the police to have a husband taken to jail, and so on. One is forced into asking neighbors for such favors, and even into gaining moral support (say in a marital dispute) from neighbors, and children play together and inevitably get into trouble -- and the result is that everybody knows everybody else's business, more or less, so there is little chance for a family to live up to what it may express a desire to do: "Just go about our own business, not worry about the rest of them, not have them interfering with us." The dependence on others is an admission of one's own inability to handle things oneself. And if the neighbor who does these favors is a relative, an in-law perhaps, problems arise of owing something back to your in-laws and of having your in-laws or your cousins know your own family business.

Kinship, then, is not itself the root of the problem, although it may intensify the problem of deteriorated inter-family relationships. In fact, kinship is used as a handy excuse -- inability to get along is generalized along kin lines: "it's people like the A's that cause all the trouble." The best indication of the way families of The Road feel about each other comes from people's own statements.

> "This road contains A's and B's. By nature the A's and B's never get along -- like the McCoys and the other ones. But we can't live without each other. My husband and his brother (A's) are always running the B's down. But whenever trouble happens between us and the B's, I remind him that he was the one who bought this house right here on top of them. . . If you keep your distance you can get along with them. The friction arises if you have them around constantly. I do go over there occasionally (to a B house next door) just to let them know I'm still around and not too mad at them. But when one of their kids (teenagers) starts hanging around here too much, getting too friendly, watch out! When they get palsy-walsy, them something's going to happen. The troubles we have with them are mainly over dogs and kids and foolishness. We even had papers drawn up through a lawyer against Mrs. B. once. There are still feuds sometimes between the older ones. They won't talk to each other for as long as 18 months. Even if they meet up in the store, they wouldn't talk to each other."

In summary of the discussion of kinship ties, particularly on The Road, it can be said that kin ties are very prominent. This may be typical of other rural isolated poverty areas. Also, there appear to be kinship ties between this particular rural area and other rural poverty areas in the same and the nearby counties. Marriages often take place between people of two separate such areas, or people move from one to another of these depressed neighborhoods. The family names of Road-Junction turn up in several other rural poor neighborhoods within a 30 mile radius. It may be that the reason why people in such rural poverty areas tend to be interrelated by kinship and marriage networks is not any overriding belief in the importance of keeping the family together or some such, but a negative or secondary factor. Children grow up in this kind of poverty and are incapable of competing and succeeding in the mainstream of society, and tend to feel that they are not wanted elsewhere -- that here or in a similar rural pocket of poverty they feel they belong, and they can get by, living with or close to relatives.

Neighborhood Structure and Organization

Within the Road-Junction communities, there is very little in the way of organized, institutionalized social groupings. Along The Road, as has been previously discussed, kinship is the main connection between the families, but with frequent suspicion and hostility between and within kinship lines, the real operating social unit is clearly the household or family unit. Families on The Road have no formal organizations of their own, nor have they in the past, and they have never been participants in the limited organizational life of The Junction.

The Junction has been a more formally organized neighborhood, stemming from its days as a viable community with stores, church and school. As late as 1950, an active Home Demonstration Unit and a 4-H as well as a church group were in operation and included or were open to any member of the community. The Junction (in contrast to The Road) was large enough to provide the personnel for several uni-purpose type social groups. But size is clearly not the only enabling factor, as the population size of The Junction has not decreased in the last several decades, but the organizational structure has collapsed. The church gradually lost the services of its itinerant minister and thus its formal functions, and the active church ladies' group has died, although an informal Bible Study group which used to include many members of the community still continues today as a weak organization. The one-room school was closed out in the mid-50's and with it the occasions such as school picnics and parties. The 4-H group died out at least 10 years ago. No other organizations have sprung up, and in fact, it is quite hard to get people to work together towards some common social events, such as a project in children's recreation. The Home Demonstration Unit continues to hold monthly meetings, but membership consists of just three ladies (2 of them elderly) from The Junction plus a few women who live in nearby areas. There is no organization which involves the men, and no children's group of any formal sort -- even though there are certainly enough young children or even teenagers to comprise a 4-H unit or some such organization.

In discussing the formal organizational structure of The Junction, it is apparent that the formal groups are but weak remnants of earlier days. It is also apparent that the membership of those few groups which do exist is the same for each -- the Church trustees are from the same three families who go to the Bible Study group, who keep up the Home Demonstration Unit. And these groups are not exclusive to The Junction, as they include a few women who are related to

Junction women or who grew up in The Junction -- a daughter of one elderly lady, for instance. Nor are these groups really open to all potential members of The Junction neighborhood. Some women in The Junction would definitely not feel welcome at the Bible Study club, for instance, as they feel that they are not considered good enough to belong. Looking at the people who participate in these groups (and the participation may be less-than-active -- quite desultory in some cases) one can see that the membership in these organizations coincides with the people in The Junction who are considered, and sometimes referred to as "the Aristocracy" -- five families in all. This aristocracy is basically a few elderly people from a few respected families, and two middle age families which enjoy considerable respect from, but remain quite aloof from, many of the poorer families of The Junction. These people have a name and a respected tradition in the neighborhood: they may be elderly and living on limited incomes, but their houses are good, or they own farmland, and their sons and daughters have gone out in the world and done well -- and have settled outside Road-Junction. There are also a few elderly couples who are not really considered in the arisotcracy, and are not participants in the formal organizations, and yet because they are old and because they are not living in obvious poverty and do not cause any problems to their neighbors, they are granted a certain respect. It is clear that for the elderly, as for the rest, poverty correlates negatively with interaction and participation in the "community". Without exception, all these elderly families and other aristocracy families -- a total of 7 or 8 families -- pride themselves on being straight, upright people, the pillars of the community-that-was, and they are bitter about the degradation of their community, critical about the "drunkards", "bad blood", "no-goods" and "Welfare people" who now spoil the community and give it a bad reputation. Some of these elderly people visit back and forth informally, at least when the weather is warm and the ground safe underfoot, but mostly they stay within their houses, living out their lives on pensions and memories, waiting to be visited by their children and grandchildren.

Basically, The Junction is a conglomeration of households or families, and because of the low level of social interaction, groups or cliques or interest groups or kinship alliances are not strongly developed. A series of loose, weak visiting patterns, the mild cohesiveness of the aristocracy families, and the sheer closeness of houses in all that holds together this cluster of inward-looking family units. Particularly among the poorer, multi-problem families, there is an expressed preference for keeping to oneself, and many families in fact have very little to do with others. Some families even forbid their children from playing with the children of some other families, because of inter-family squabbles or because of the bad reputation of one family -- but these prohibitions do not appear to be strictly adhered to for long. There are divisive factors -- neighbors are annoyed with having other people's trash piled up right in their view, a neighbor complains of the stench of sewage seeping out from the house next door, and dogs and children cause their share of complaints. These are petty complaints which would be surmountable in an otherwise cohesive community: but where there is virtually no feeling of community, and social relationships between neighbors are decayed, then these petty complaints become grist to the mill for further separating families from each other. Issues which do arise and which could potentially unite people in common effort somehow only tend to be divisive, and residents do not feel that they could have combined power as a community to accomplish such community projects as recreation programs for their children, which individually they claim they want to have. There is a combination of a sense of defeat and a feeling that somehow the problems (children's or youth recreation, sewers, needed storm drainage, etc.) will eventually get solved by someone else if they will ever be solved. "The aristocracy" feels it isn't worth trying to help some of the poverty families. Even teenagers clearly express a feeling that nobody in the neighborhood cares, that people never do anything together for the good of the whole community. They see the main interaction between neighbors as being in the forms of backbiting and meddling and express a feeling that this is not an easy or a healthy community to live in -- and a desire to move out when they are old enough.

Thus, while The Road has never been a neighborhood populous enough or sufficiently above the subsistence level of poverty living to support any formal community-type activities or organization, The Junction, which once supported a viable formal and informal social organization has had the institutional underpinnings of these organizations pulled out from under them (in the closing of the church and the school) and has been atomized by the fact that a sizable proportion of the resident families have been too conquored by a nulti-problem poverty existence to maintain healthy interaction with their neighbors. It appears that social visiting within The Road or The Junction is quite limited. Although a few women visit a variety of neighbors and/or relatives, many a housewife passes many a day with no neighborhood visits or visitors. The most frequent daytime drop-in visitors are not the next door neighbors, but the grown daughters who live outside Road-Junction. The most common visiting between Road-Junction households appears to involve close relatives (e.g., sisters-in-law). But not all relatives do visit each other -- some clearly avoid each other. Occasionally a husband and wife will go together on a weekend to visit a neighbor (who may be a relative), to watch a TV program, for example. In some cases, visits back and forth between two families may become quite frequent for a period of time -- but usually some disagreement soon arises to cool off the relationship. People do talk about their neighbors, and may gossip. They are quick to blame neighbors for various real or imagined slights. Some people know quite a lot about what's happening in other families (may know, for example, who got beat up, how big the Welfare check was) but there are many instances of mis-information as well as absence of information about the doings of neighbors. Perhaps the most salient feature of these neighborhood social patterns is their transience and their fragility. In the long run, the family is the real unit, (though it, too, may be fragile), with inter-familial bonds quite unstable. Thus, as neighborhoods, The Road and The Junction are lacking in formal structure and weak in informal structure, despite physical closeness and, in many cases, kinship ties. However, an additional factor which tends to lend some common sense of identity to the families (particularly of The Road) is the knowledge that the whole neighborhood as a single unit is looked down upon by the outside world.

Implications for Women's Employment

In this chapter we have seen the trans-generational aspect of this entrenched rural poverty. Both the problem-frought poverty living and the residential tenacity in the area are trans-generational. Thus, in considering the question of women and work, we have to see women of working age as products of the kind of system here described. The very weak informal social relationships and the absence of formal social structure are both indices of, and also contributors to, the withdrawn, individualistic way in which each family struggles on its own. Each of these families must look out for itself: if it doesn't, no one will. If possible, they will avoid being dragged down by their neighbors' problems and failings. The weakness of the formal and informal structure, combined with the suspicion and periodic acrimony endemic in the neighborhood, make it very hard for women to count on their neighbors -- even if they are relatives -- to help out regularly or reliably in such things as babysitting. There also appears to be a feeling that the neighbors do not like to see a family getting ahead --- for it points up their own lack of progress. The small improvements which a woman might be able to pay for if she had a job might bring her the envy and criticism of her neighbors. The characterization of neighborhood disintegration certainly indicates that women are not choosing to stay out of the work world because they are involved in a social network of neighborhood visiting, coffee klatches, etc. In fact, those who have worked or want to work list boredom and lack of people to talk to as reasons why they don't want to remain at home all day. But the same factors which give rise to an unsatisfying social life within the neighborhood from the housewife's point of view also prevents her from being able to depend on her neighbors to help her out as permanent babysitters or transporters if she should get a job. Similarly, as we shall see in the next chapter, the kinds of interactions which Road-Junction people have generally had with the dominant society also tend to keep these women withdrawn into their homes, and limit their confidence in being able to succeed in the outside world and to achieve according to the standards of the wider society.

CHAPTER IV

ROAD-JUNCTION AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The people of Road-Junction and other similar rural areas are often spoken of as being isolated rural people. True, they are somewhat isolated in terms of geographical position, and one of the real impediments to getting these people better integrated into the mainstream of society is the problem of transportation. Time and time again the lack of adequate transportation is the reason why various things don't get done -- a child can't stay at school for after-school sports, a man neglects to get needed medical help, a housewife is unable to purchase her Food Stamps at the city bank, etc. -- all because of the impossibility or difficulty of physically getting there. The converse is also a real problem -- the services of the larger community are hampered in doing an effective job for these people because it is difficult to get to them. Community organizing is very difficult in large part because people are spread out and far removed from services located in the city.

It is the thesis of this chapter, however, that although the people of Road-Junction are indeed geographically isolated, they are very much connected with the larger urban-suburban area, and that the quality of their interaction in the larger society is poor. In some ways, the most noticeable characteristic of these rural pockets of poverty (and sometimes the most distressing) is that they _are_ connected to that outside world, that they are inescapably tied to that world, that they are forced to meet and compete in the larger society -- and that so often they are unable to do so successfully. They are totally dependent on that outside world -- for their jobs, their education, their buying, their services, their help, and for many of their values and aspirations -- as their own neighborhoods provide virtually none of these. It is because of this strong dependence that the vexing transportation problem is so critical, and solutions to it so important. But one must look beyond the mere physical or transportational aspects of the connections between these people and the larger society to the nature and quality of the contacts which they do have. In this chapter, the various kinds of contacts between people of Road-Junction and the outside world will be explored, including the nature of those encounters, the feelings of Road-Junction people towards the outside world and their perception of their own place in it.

Economic Connections

Since almost all economic activity takes place outside of the Road-Junction neighborhood, the nature of economic contacts with the outside world have already been considered in the chapter on economics.

By and large, their jobs are low prestige and low responsibility (e.g., cleaning out gutters and patching the roads) and they are the bossed -- rarely even the boss of a small work crew. Their "buying" is done in the community's cheapest stores and at the rummage sales, give-aways and in the dumps, where they snatch up the discards of society. In all their economic contacts with the wider society, it is painfully obvious to these people that they are at the very bottom, even a different kind of people.

Social Interaction with the Outside World

Families of The Junction, and especially of The Road, are not participators in the various social or quasi-social groups of the wider community, nor do they regularly interact informally with individuals of that wider community except for with relatives or friends who live in similar rural pockets of poverty.

In informal interaction with the outside world, a few Road-Junction adults have some tenuous friendships among middle-class people of the surrounding area, but their Road-Junction neighbors are apt to razz them about associating with fancy people. In most cases, when Road-Junction people talk of whom they have just seen or visited recently, or when they gossip or tell news -- if the subject of the conversation is not a neighborhood resident, it is invariably a person who lives in another rural poverty area not far away, and it is quite apt to be a relative or a neighbor's relative, or less often, may be a co-worker. Generally, it appears that informal social interaction with the outside world is quite limited.

As for participation in outside formal social organizations (or quasi-social groups), the people of Road-Junction are non-participators. Men do not belong to the nearby local fire companies (which appear to be bastions of working class males in their respective hamlets), or to the fraternal organizations, and if they belong to unions, they do not participate in the social activities. Families do not join or interact with the community associations of the two nearest villages. Only a few mothers, and virtually no fathers ever attend any functions at the elementary school (and almost never are present at secondary school activities). These families not only do not join the PTA they rarely or never attend any PTA-sponsored affairs. (I wouldn't go if you paid me." "If you ask me, there are a lot of snobby people down there.") The children of Road-Junction are generally not members of, or participants in specialized children's groups: a few occasionally join their schoolmates in a church youth group, or a scout troop or 4-H group in a nearby hamlet -- usually as irregular participators.

Religious Contacts with the Outside World

Religious and socio-religious ties to the larger community are definitely weak. With no active church of their own, the people of Road-Junction would have their choice of belonging to any of the three churches in the two nearby hamlets, or the many churches in the city -- but most families neither belong nor attend. One family used to go occasionally to one of the hamlet churches. their children attended an evening church group there, and the oldest son earned a scholarship to the church's camp, but when transportation was no longer provided for the youth group, attendance for both children and adults dropped. (Also, Alcholics Annonymous has taken over the church function, ideologically and socially, for the wife of this family, who is the only one with any strong religious tendencies.) One family, only, is Catholic, but because they are elderly and in poor health, they rarely attend church. A few families attend church sporadically in the city.

Generally, the most frequent comment about church attendance is "we used to go to church regularly, years ago -- somehow we just don't anymore." Many families, however, send their children to the weekly religious classes for which they are released from elementary school and bussed to a Catholic or a Protestant church school. (As some children tell it, the main reason for going is not religious, but getting out of school). Religious belief is not necessarily a thing of the past in most families. People often refer to "God's will" or "God's way of taking care of us", which may be revealed in such bizarre examples as in a teen-age daughter who needs help emotionally but continues to fight it until, "as God's plan to force her to get help" she becomes pregnant illegitimately. One woman finds daily prayer is helpful to her in maintaining sobriety and giving her the strength to go on despite seemingly unsolvable family problems Other people rue the fact that today's youth don't have the fear of God (and the love of Country) in them.

Political Interaction

Political activity is at a very low level -- awareness of campaigns, of candidates and issues appears limited, and voting records for the area are very low. Interest in politics is limited to a few people -- who don't necessarily vote. One elderly man who is well informed and very interested in world happenings, no longer votes -- "If I can't get up there (to the polling place in the church) on my own steam, I won't go." "I've had my say, now it's time for others to have theirs." For most people, the feeling is that their votes don't have any effect either on national or local affairs. "My husband has never voted in his life. I've thought about voting, but never get around to registering. I guess it just seems like there is no point in it for us." "We never had anything to do with it all. I suppose you won't like me for saying this, but we never felt it was worth the bother." For most people, the national political scene is too remote, but even State races are not at all identified as pertaining to or influencable by themselves. For local offices they see little point in getting stirred up, as the same people always win. There is some feeling that most people in politics are crooks, or at least sly, and that the whole business is "not for us". Some men who work on the State Highway crew were glad that "Rockyfeller" won another term because "he gave them a raise last year, and he's going to give them another raise next year" -- but they had not voted in the election, nor were they even remotely aware of issues and personalities.

The voting district for this particular polling place is fairly large, but the number of people voting is fewer than almost any other election district in the county. And of those who do vote, most reside outside of the Road-Junction area.

The political leanings of many of the people, including youths too young to vote, tend to be conservative, Generally they are opposed to student radicals and Black militants; in fact some approach militancy in their criticisms of them. What they favor is less clear, but it is apparent that they do not want the status quo changed, as they might end up even worse off. Jobs may be bad, money scarce, prices high, taxes unpayable, but people are loath to criticize the system as a whole, and even hesitant to criticize the officers of that system.

Legal Involvement with the Larger Society

There are many ways in which the people of Road-Junction interact with the legal institutions of the larger society. There are numerous occasions on which they are summoned into the Justice of the Peace Court held semi-monthly in a nearby hamlet. Assorted traffic violations are the most common causes of their appearance there -- though traffic violations also bring them to more distant courts. Speeding, unlicensed operator, unregistered or uninspected vehicle, driving while intoxicated or under the influence of alcohol -- all are common charges. People also enlist the help of the Justice of the Peace if a husband or neighbor is causing trouble.

In the City, the seat of County government, the people of Road-Junction have dealings with all of the different parts of the Court structure. Family Court is a familiar scene for many of these people -- their youngsters come up there for many varied offences: shoplifting, theft, various charges involving liquor, truancy from school, charges resulting from fights at the high school, etc. A monitoring of court reports and of arrests which are reported in the City newspaper reveals the high number of local youths above the youthful offender status who are involved in lawbreaking incidents. Fines, jail sentences, or reform schools, as well as probation, may result. Also, the many marital disputes are taken to Family Court. A court "order of protection", known locally as a "peace bond" is sometimes sought to keep an estranged husband away from the wife and children -- and quite often this is later nullified by the wife, and married life resumes. The pattern is for a wife to "go down and sign papers on her husband." Brief jail sentences are sometimes served by husbands in these cases, and the threat of jail is a weapon women use to prevent husbands from physically mistreating them. Quite a few men have served longer jail or prison sentences for such things as larceny. The legal help that people get in all these cases includes regular lawyers privately paid (e.g., paid for by a brother home on leave from the Service), by court-appointed lawyers, some regular lawyers who take on cases at reduced fees, and free legal services from the Legal Aid Clinic.

The State Police and the Sheriff's Department have a lot of interaction with these families -- particularly families on The Road. Either the Police or the Sheriff will be summoned for any number of reasons by local residents. Recent examples of cases in which they were called are: to solve family fights; to inspect when theft has occurred; to inspect malicious damage or vandalism; to accompany people to the hospital in an emergency; to break up inter-family fights in the neighborhood or arrest neighborhood troublemakers. Then, there are the numerous times when the Police or Sheriff come not because of a private complaint by a resident, but to track down lawbreakers -- most recently and frequently, youths involved in petty thievery or more serious exploits. The extent to which the Police and Sheriffs are involved in the lives of the people on The Road is revealed by one resident.

> "The Law (meaning the Sheriff and the State Troopers) gets pretty tired of coming up here. You might say we get the most law here of anybody. They come up for all kinds of things, but it's usually a waste of time cause nobody will press charges. They just call in the Law to put the scare into someone -- just to investigate, but then they never have the person arrested."
>
> "Once I was down in the Sheriff's office. I guess I had my husband in jail. I was there to take him some cigarettes or something. The phone rang and it was someone from The Road calling, and when the deputy told the other deputies, they all went "yechh". That's how they think of us."

Medical and Health Contacts - Attitudes and Actions

Medical services are another connection which people of Road-Junction have with the outside world -- no more frequently than they can help, often reluctantly and usually for treatment rather than prevention. Some families do occasionally attend the free baby and children's clinic held monthly in the elementary school, where they can get all the necessary babyhood immunizations free, plus various other minor treatments. It appears, however, that many families do not know of this clinic, others forget about it, others have transportation problems. Besides, their children don't usually get sick on the appropriate clinic day (and they are not allowed into the clinic if they are sick anyway), and when children are not sick, little thought is given to health care. The doctors to which the people go are scattered geographically -- most in the city, others ("nicer", "more understanding", "cheaper") is smaller, distant towns, -- and only one doctor is located less than 15 miles away. If a person with a complaint isn't satisfied with one doctor's diagnosis or cure, she will likely go to another doctor. In emergencies, or when one's doctor can't be reached, some families rely on the hospital emergency room. Medical advice may or may not be followed -- one pediatrician found that a convulsive child was not being given more than a token dosage of an essential medicine (which cost the family nothing); suggestions for vitamins, for dietary restrictions and other para-medical advice are often unheeded. A baby with serious chronic diarrhea was given whole milk and all kinds of cereal; a feverishly sick six-year-old was treated to hot chocolate, donuts and cupcakes on the way home from the doctor's office. Follow-up visits are often neglected, particularly the "last" appointment for the doctor to make the final check and release the patient. The county's doctors have various opinions of Road-Junction people -- usually quite low. Some doctors have a reputation among the people for really fair treatment, but several doctors are felt to discriminate against poor people, to refuse to take medicaid patients, and to give them second-class treatment. The complaint is often heard that when a child was sick a certain doctor refused to see him. People are quick to interpret a doctor's manner or words as being deprecatory, and some are quick to blame him for a child's slow recovery, or a mother's protracted labor, or an inability to diagnose clearly an individual's condition.

Relationships to the Service Agencies and Institutions of the County

In so many aspects of their lives, these rural people are victims of the continuing trends towards centralization in our society -- centralization of jobs, of markets, of schools and of all kinds of services. All of the governmental and private services which are set up to help individuals, families and communities are located in the city, so that services which are supposed to assist people in handling their problems are far removed from the very people who need them most. The Welfare and Food Assistance programs are located in offices in the city, and since much of the transactions which one has with these offices must be made in person, the problem of transportation becomes a block to people seeking or continuing the assistance programs they need. The caseworkers from the Social Services Department do make home visits periodically, but the initial intake interview and various other business must take place at the office. The Food Stamp program is an improvement over the Surplus Foods in that people no longer have to come to the city monthly to pick up food, but the certification must still be done in the city, and the stamps are purchased in the city banks once or twice a month. Many people let their participation in such a program slip because of the difficulty of getting back to the office to accomplish the red tape, for such a trip might involve not only having a car in running condition which the husband doesn't need, (a car which starts, steers and stops, which has a current inspection sticker, is insured and registered, and a driver with a license), but also taking along babies and small children, some of them home from school because of sickness, or finding a relative or friend to watch the children. All of these complications are obstacles to people's participation in these programs, and although some of the agencies are beginning to realize the necessity of their getting out to the people, such is rarely done, and the possibility of getting the services to come to the home is unknown to the people in need of them.

The Welfare Department, however, is one service which most of those involved would prefer to keep at a distance. "The Welfare" is seen as a source of money, but also as an unwelcome intrusion into family affairs. The people who are on Welfare get very little effective counselling help, and what they get they don't want. The following quotes reveal people's feelings.

> "The Welfare lady was here today, and again she made me feel this big" (about one-eighth of an inch between thumb and finger). "The Welfare lady said we should move because this house is badly heated and expensive to heat and to rent. But we couldn't do that. Leaving here would hurt us even more than being on Welfare does."
>
> "For so long we really should have been on Welfare — all that time we weren't able to make it on our own. But pride kept us from it. We still would prefer to make it on our own, but there are too many things against us right now."
>
> "The little bit of land we still owned we deeded over to our daughter so Welfare and the creditors wouldn't get it."
>
> "The Welfare lady wanted to know about that ski-doo. I said she'd have to ask my husband. She said 'no, I'm asking you.' I tried to explain that it's our son's, and that his uncle is financing it, and that we sort of had to buy it because my husband banged it up a bit."

"They act like they owned your kids."

"My daughter's caseworker is trying to get her to start taking the pill. I say that's wrong. Just because she made one mistake doesn't mean she's going to do it again. Besides, if she's on the pill, she can do as she pleases and never suffer any consequences. Now I don't think that's right, and though she's a mother now, she's only seventeen, and I'm still her mother."

In other service agencies, there is a determined effort to reach out to the people in rural areas -- at least in theory there is. Certainly the neighborhood aide program of the local OEO anti-poverty agency is designed for this purpose, as is the nutrition aide program of the Cooperative Extension Service. The real drawback to these potentially useful programs is that the aides can't do enough: the limited resources of such a program are spread too thin, so that an aide is given a large rural territory which cannot be well covered. And turnover of personnel is high enough to decrease effectiveness and to leave the rural people bewildered and skeptical. Also, the pattern of working with individual families, even if the contact were more frequent, precludes any community work, which, though difficult, should be attempted. The severity of the rural poverty problems and the difficulty of getting anything accomplished in a large area where people are sparcely settled and far from the center, and where there is little or no indigenous community grouping are factors which must be taken into account if potentially good programs are to reach their goals. In actual fact, only a few home visits of little consequence have been made by the OEO aide in this neighborhood.

There is clearly a need for some of the institutions and agencies which are supposedly helping these people to do a far better job of reaching out to the people where they are, instead of sitting in their centralized offices decrying the fact that their programs never seem to involve any of the rural people. For example, the mental health clinic is 20 miles away, and getting there regularly is impossible for many even if they could overcome their fears and distrust of such help. In some agencies some of the caseworkers or social workers or aides do actually have close contact with the homes. But the point to be made is that despite some really impressive efforts on the part of a few individuals, there seems to be a lack of a really concerted effort by these agencies and organizations to reach out to the rural people, to catch them before problems become intolerable, to get help to people speedily when it is needed and to make the availability of such services generally known to the rural multi-problem population. There is no overall network covering these rural people which could serve as a cross-referral system. There are many diadic relationships of individual families with individual social workers or similar "helping professionals", but there is a lack of coordinated planning and even of communication between the various workers and agencies involved. The complexity of the overlapping services and jurisdictions, and the haphazard way in which a family in difficulty may eventually get assistance, serve to decrease the effectiveness of these services. A special campaign needs to be waged, not only to inform people of the long list of agencies which stand ready to help them, but to give them an understanding in more realistic terms of what these services are all about. Furthermore, those individuals in the various agencies who have been in contact with rural poverty families and who are familiar with the acute problems should become involved in higher level planning of possible ways to overcome the causes of the symptoms they treat, rather than always supplying band-aids for numerous individual families.

Mass Media, Mail and Phones as Connectors with the Outside World

It is difficult to assess the effect of contacts which people have with the dominant society by means of the mass media. Nearly all have television, and some watch it quite a lot, with the soap operas quite popular among the housewives (or, for those women who are less absorbed in the melodramas, the TV set might be turned on but the housewife not really watching it). The fights are a weekend highlight for the men, who will sometimes go to the home in the neighborhood which gets the best reception for the "wrass'ling". News is rarely listened to; commercials are watched, but their effect is hard to determine. Some women's buying habits are affected by the detergent commercials, and children appear to beg their parents for the toys they see advertised on TV. Television is the only form in which most of the adults ever see movies.

Subscriptions to magazines are limited to a few households -- one home gets at least four magazines regularly, including two news magazines, but this is most unusual. Most families do not regularly get the City newspaper although many people occasionally pick it up at one of the nearby small stores, especially on the days the supermarkets advertise their weekend specials, or if they are looking to see what was written about some neighbor in trouble with the law. Mail is delivered as a Rural Route out of the post office in a hamlet eight miles away into their unlabeled, propped-up mailboxes. People get letters from relatives living far away or in the Service, in addition to bills and advertising.

Telephones are found in many of the houses -- but frequently they are not connected. A family may do without or suspend phone service for a period as a way to save money, or the phone company may disconnect the phone because of unpaid bills. Usually the phone is left in the house, on the theory that some time later the family will wish to have it reconnected (for a fee). As an indication, at present there are 8 houses (out of the 30 studied) which do not now have phone service -- a higher number than a year ago. Along The Road there are sometimes four working phones for the 11 houses, but at present there is only one "business phone" for a man who is in the junking or demolition business, and one family phone. People who do have phones usually allow others to use them for necessary calls, but they are not usually eager to have their phone used. Some phone owners are annoyed at receiving calls from the outside for a relative or a neighbor. "When my brother-in-law's boy is in trouble, I don't want the Sheriff's department bothering me about it. It's not my business. I'm not my brother's keeper." Because of these nuisances, some families keep their number unlisted even though it actually costs more to do so. The lack of phone service is a real problem when emergencies arise, and is a constant exasperation to teachers, social workers, welfare case workers and the like who want to be able to talk with these people, or who want to find out if they are at home before travelling half way across the county to see them on some business.

Feelings of Community Identity and Separateness

The people of Road-Junction have rather strong feelings about the outside world, which are closely related to their conception of what the outside world thinks of them. Both of these in turn affect the people's feelings about themselves and their own neighborhood, as they tend to accept and internalize society's judgment.

Neither Road-Junction, nor either of its components, is considered a community by the inhabitants, and, as was evident in the chapter on social organization, group feeling and identity are weak. Certainly the absence of formal institutions and structure, coupled with the low level of social interaction would make these areas classifiable merely as neighborhoods, rather than communities. Even the densely packed Junction is no more than a neighborhood, as there are no community functions and minimal interaction above disparate diadic relationships between some households. But even as neighborhoods, these are weak, incohesive associations of families. In a very real sense, their main feeling of identity as a neighborhood (or neighborhoods) is derived not from positive factors linking them together, but from the negative factors of feeling cut off from and scorned by the larger urban-suburban community, a feeling of not really belonging there.

Although Road-Junction people work, buy, go to school, get help, etc. in the city and its suburbs, they generally do not consider themselves members of that community, or if they do count themselves as part of that larger community, it is as second-class citizens. "The way I see it, this town has two kinds of people: the people of the fancy areas, and people like us." The social gap and the power gap are considered unbridgable by them, as has been indicated in earlier parts of this chapter.

Many people state with some clarity what they think the other segments of society think of them; many know that they are characterized as the dregs of society. Even the people of the neighboring hamlets, whose children go to the same school, and whose stores they patronize to some extent, are seen as having hostile, derogatory attitudes towards the people of Road-Junction. "They think this whole Road is a bunch of tramps." "They say the people on The Road are the way they are because they made themselves that way." "They think they're too good to associate with us." "They usually treat kids from this area all right in school, but they never invite our kids to their houses." "The people down there call this 'Poverty Hill'." So, people of Road-Junction rarely go to these hamlets except on small buying erranda; occasionally they send a child to a church group there; they go trick-or-treating there on Hallowe'en, but they very rarely go visiting there or have the residents of those hamlets visit them. Mostly, people tend to feel unwanted and on the defensive, scorned, looked down upon. In self-defence, a woman said, "No, the people on this Road don't live this way because they want to -- they didn't even ask to be born. And they don't get on Welfare because they want to or because it's the easy life -- I know, I've tried it. But if people would treat them like human beings, encourage them when they're doing something good; if they're fixing up a room, praise them; or if they're out mowing the grass, tell them 'gee, your lawn looks nice', then maybe they'd try harder." One young wife, married to a man with a multi-generational background in the Road-Junction area, said, "My sister-in-law (brother's wife) doesn't have to much to do with us because -- well, we live on The Road, and The Road doesn't exactly have a good reputation." Another young wife who grew up in The Junction, as did her husband, but is now living outside, had this to say about a former friend who lives on The Road. "I really like her -- we used to be good friends when we were living at the same Navy base. But I haven't seen her since we've been back (2 years) because my husband doesn't like the company she and her husband keep. I'd like to stop off and see her, but he never lets me, so we just drive right on up The Road." It seems that the Road-Junction people's conception of what the world outside thinks of them is a very close approximation indeed, and it does seem true that merely the fact of living at that address is a handicap for those who try to 'make it' in society and for their children, that the neighborhood's reputation alone is crippling.

In response to the feeling that the people of Road-Junction are looked down upon by the outside world, and that the outside world is beyond their control and even beyong their ready comprehension, these people tend to withdraw from the outside world to the extent that they can. While participating in it for jobs, schooling, buying, and other services, the apparent feeling is one of alienation, even of hostility. They distrust the motives of outsiders and of society in general, and are suspicious of those who run it. Generally, they feel that they must exist in that world for a certain amount of time each day or each week, and for the accomplishment of a certain number of functions, but that it is not their world.

Well aware of the reputation of this area, particularly The Road, some families have often talked about moving away. Most do not say specifically where they would move to, but they want to get off The Road, out of The Junction. Some say they would never like to live in the city because you wouldn't have anyone you knew around you, but the same person might another time express a strong preference for living off by themselves, isolated from other people, except by phone. Some people specifically say they would like to get away from the poor examples and troublemaking of their neighbors. One family frequently considers moving, and all the social workers, case workers, etc., who know this family and work with them always urge them to move. But they don't move. "It's the only place my husband knows." "The probation officer told me I should move out of here -- I told him 'nothin' doin', this is my house, this is where my people are. I ain't leaving'." In fact, despite the talk, very few actually move. The only people who have moved away have been families in the process of splitting up -- a daughter marrying out, or a wife and children leaving the home, or a man taking his children after his wife deserted and moving them to another rural poverty area, where he subsequently remarried. So, moving out, as a way to get ahead, is not often done, except at the start of adult life, and many Road-Junction people live there for years with a vague feeling of being trapped there. Although few people mention it, there is a clear financial saving in living where they do -- housing is cheap in older homes, shacks or modest trailers, and there are all kinds of possibilities for saving or earning a little money -- hunting extra deer, getting firewood, using the springs and streams for water supply and septic system, and the whole business of trading and junking and "parting" cars (stripping them of useable parts). In addition, there are some really positive and strong feelings of attachment for the area, but here, one supposes that the heart grows fonder as the outside world receeds as a possible place to make ones way. One woman complained, "The Welfare lady said we should move away from here. But I'd die if I had to do that. Moving away from the country, away from these hills I love, these hills where we both grew up -- we couldn't do that." And so, over the years, many people do stay on. There seems to be some recognition of the fact that those young couples who hope to make it in the world are generally the sons and daughters who leave home to live elsewhere, and even very young children tell their parents that when they grow up they won't live there. Even among the "aristocracy" their sons and daughters leave -- while the old folks stay on in the homes they inherited or at least inhabited since early marriage. To these "aristocracy" people, the generalizations above do not apply -- they are not retreating from the outside world; but they do decry the reputation which Road-Junction has in the larger society. For the poverty-ridden families, though, the feelings of inferiority and of separateness from the outside world are strong factors which keep them living in the area, which in turn adds to those feelings. Thus, the poverty neighborhood perpetuates itself, a cast-off shunned by the outside world.

Implications for Women's Employment

The preceding description of the nature of the interaction between Road-Junction and the outside world, with the resultant low self-esteem which shackles the residents of these neighborhoods, has a strong relevance for the analysis of the problem of low income women as potential job holders. Chiefly, the poor self-image which is characteristic of so many of the residents of these depressed neighborhoods seems to limit their desires, ambitions and chances of succeeding in the dominant society. Taking the broad view, the battering which men, women and children of these discouraged enclaves constantly receive in their encounters with the outside world have a very real effect in making women pessimistic about their chances of getting ahead by holding a job, or of rising occupationally to "good" jobs with concomitant personal and family status.

We have seen that interaction with the outside world is kept to the minimum, as there is little voluntary interaction: they don't belong to outside social organizations or churches, do not participate in political life on any level, and do not seek out the services of society except when in desperation or in need of protection from each other. In those aspects of life where they necessarily must participate, they do so minimally and with a minimum of success. They work at the economy's lowest (and dirtiest) levels, they buy its cheapest or discarded products, they obtain only a minimum of health care, and they tend to feel that even the "helping" institutions do not give them much real help -- (the Welfare grudgingly gives smaller amounts of money than that which a family feels it is entitled to, and demands a great deal in return). From all these contacts and interactions which the people have with "the outside world" they form a negative concept of themselves and what society thinks of them. There is a "generalized other" concept which teaches each new generation that living where he does is a handicap when he faces the outside world, that outsiders judge individuals on the basis of the fact that they live in Road-Junction, and that the judgment is negative.

Although these comments pertain mostly to the poverty-struck and problem-ridden families of Road-Junction, it is these families who characterize the area. True, there are a few who are in far less extreme circumstances, the "aristocracy" families, who are better off financially and enjoy a more positive or healthy interaction with the dominant society in which they circulate. But generally, the successful or potentially successful people of Road-Junction background move out and the residue of beaten-down non-succeeders remains to characterize the community.

Seen in the light of this background, it is easier to understand why there are women who don't appear to have the "ambition" to go to work when the family needs money, why women may prefer to turn to Welfare, or why they continue to live on the insufficient or barely-sufficient income of the husband. Also, it is now more clear why some women have a spotty work history -- they may quit a job partly because they didn't feel capable or accepted. Some are hounded by a kind of inferiority complex, and need constant reassuring that they are doing a good job -- reassurance which they do not get from husbands or from neighbors. And those women who do go to work do not try for better jobs, do not generally consider that job training will be of any particular benefit. Generally, these women have learned from early childhood to set low goals and expectations for their lives, and to look forward to little personal satisfaction beyond what may come through managing to bear and rear their children. Certainly, the outside world is not seen as a source of possible personal success and satisfaction.

CHAPTER V

GROWING UP IN ROAD-JUNCTION

This chapter will be concerned with some of the forces, pressures and patterns which mold the growing youngsters of Road-Junction families. This will by no means constitute a systematic description of child-rearing practices, but merely provide a chronological skeleton on which to hang some generalizations derived from observations of children in their homes.

Household Structure

It might be pointed out, at the start, that there is a fairly large number of children in the Road-Junction families studied. There are 63 children and 59 adults currently living in the thirty households studied. Ten households contain adults only, so that the mean number of children at home in the 20 families which now include children is slightly over 3 per household, with a range from 1 to 8 children at home. The total number of children born into a household ranges from one to ten and within the last 3 years, about 16 babies have been born into the 20 households which have children.

An analysis of the family structure of these households reveals that not all of these young children are being raised in simple nuclear family settings. Of the 20 households currently having children at home, 12 households are straight nuclear families, 2 more are nuclear families in the process of splitting up, with children going with the mother, and 6 households consist of temporary or semi-permanent extended families.

The striking flexibility of the family structure, particularly in the poorest households, is the factor which gives rise to the high number of extended families (six). These households rarely have more than 2 adult members on a permanent basis as an agreed-upon, long-term residence pattern, but the extended families are a result of the temporary expansion of households to take in family members who are having difficulties in the outside world or who have no place to go. One-fifth of the households (six) have, at one time or another during the last three years had a grown daughter or son with his or her children living with the parents for at least half a year. Three households at the present time have an unmarried daughter with a child living with her parents (ages of these daughters are 16, 17, and 20), and one of these households recently had three daughters with their children living at home, all at the same time, with husbands or unattached men moving in and out. This meant severe crowding in a woefully substandard house, but both the daughters and the parents continue to express the feeling that if things go against you on the outside, if you can't make ends meet, then you can always come home, rent-free. It may not be what anybody really desires, but some way will be worked out to care for everyone. And so, a cycle of expansion and contraction of the household unit goes on over the years.

Also striking is the high incidence of family break-up. At least one-third of all 30 households have had or now have serious family disruption due to severe marital problems -- involving separation of the couple, or one member of the couple leaving or being involved with an extra-marital relationship, or marital quarrels arising out of incestuous relationships with teenagers. A minimum of six families at present have serious marital difficulties -- including the 2 families which have just split up -- and at least 4 others have had serious marital problems in the recent past.

Concerning the nature of relationships within the family, there are all shades and varieties -- patrifocal, matrifocal -- with perhaps a slight predominance of families dominated or held together (under the facade of male-dominance) by the wife, with the husband weak as a husband or as a father figure, or periodically absent. The father's role may be complicated by the fact of his or his wife's previous marriages, or by out-of-wedlock children of his or his wife's. A fairly large proportion of families, while fitting the description of nuclear families, are actually much more complicated in origin, as they may contain one or more extraneous children (not born to that man and his present wife) and either adult may also have parental ties (recognized or not) to children living in other households. And even in families where such complications do not in fact exist, there may be accusations and suspicions of parenthood outside the marriage.

The high frequency of temporary expansion of the household and of recurrent breakdown of the family structure seems to be both a response to poverty conditions and an accepted necessary adaptation to general lack of success in "making it". They are common occurrences in the Road-Junction community, and accepted as part of the way things are.

Family Planning

Number of children per family varies considerably, from a completed family with only one child to ten children born to each of two families, and opinions on what constitutes an ideal-sized family also vary. Only one young mother mentions overpopulation as an issue or reason for family planning. An elderly man in The Junction who characterizes Road people as "bad blood" says, "The trouble with all those people (on The Road) is that they have too many babies. They can't read, so they don't even know about the overpopulation problem." More generally the limiting of pregnancies is determined by considerations of family income, house size, and so forth. An example is a family living in a tiny trailer, with minimal comforts, chronic money shortage, and occasional marital disruptions. The children spend their time at home mostly under-foot, dressed only in diapers (or a diaper substitute, such as an old T-shirt) or underpants, often soggy for the older girls. The mother, only 23, says she doesn't want any more babies, but she refuses to use the pill "because look at what happened to __________ when she went on the pill, all that heart trouble and blood clots", and she is adamantly against a hysterectomy, which her doctor recommended: "That's like a ticket to send your husband off elsewhere for his pleasures. That's what __________ told me -- it just ruined the pleasure for both of them, and he's been roaming every since." This mother feels that four children is not a big family, and 3 children is definitely a small family; 7 or 8 begins to approach a large family -- she herself grew up in a family of 10 children. But at the present, with the trailer greatly overcrowded, with a real struggle to get by on her husband's income, and with her hands really tied by the four she has, she says emphatically, "I don't want no more". Whether she will as these children grow older is questionable -- she appears to have no other plans in mind.

There are several women in their mid 30's or 40's who have given birth to 5 or more children, one had 9, one 10. These children usually came in a series of babies in close succession, and then there were no more -- usually for a medical reason. "I almost died for the fifth one -- and he almost died too. The doctor said I should never have any more, so I had him fix me." Another woman boasted, "After my third baby and then a miscarriage, the doctor said I couldn't have any more -- but I showed him -- I went on and had seven more!

But after this last time they weren't taking any chances -- they took everything out of me." Typically these mothers of large families grew up in large families, and their husbands are also from large families. In other families, the children are spaced by two or three years at least, and the total number is 3 or 4 children. One new teenage mother said she and her husband want only two children, spaced three or four years apart. Another new young mother considered birth control extremely important, (she chose the coil). She had seen her mother weighed down by too many children for her strength and the family's economic resources; and also, her own husband's salary is just enough to squeak by -- the baby reached a year before the hospital bill was finally paid off. As a method of contraception, the coil is the chosen method for several other young wives, such as the young mother of two children who declared, "I'd die if I got pregnant now." In other families, neither planning nor practice affect the number of children or their spacing --- they just come. A possible trend may be for the current group of young new mothers to end up having fewer, well-spaced children. But the picture is complicated by births to young (teenage) unmarried girls. Generally, there is suspicion about birth control devices, particularly for unmarried girls. And several husbands are known not to want their women to have the possible freedom which the pill and the coil give them.

Child-Rearing Practices: Infants and Young Children

It is difficult to give a systematic and generalized description of patterns of child-rearing in the area studied, due to the small sample and such variation from one household to another, with all extremes as well as intermediates in every aspect of child rearing from breast-feeding to toilet training, to more general items such as independence training. There are, however, some recurrent trends or patterns in various aspects of early life for the children of Road-Junction, which seem to hold true in many cases or which appear to have significance for later development and adjustment in life.

1. Babies are generally (though not in all cases) held a great deal by a mother or grandmother or any other adult or child available. Part of the reason for this may be a lack of such middle-class conveniences as playpens and special baby chairs. Even mothers who have some of this

equipment, however, seem to prefer holding their babies, or asking some family member to hold them.

2. Toddlers and preschoolers generally do not have many toys, and those which they do have are often the one-purpose, hard plastic, TV-advertised varieties -- talking or walking dolls, plastic racing cars, etc. In many cases, the lack of toys correlates with low income, though there are some cases where a family with really limited income will buy quite a few toys for their little children. Creative materials -- crayons, paper, etc. and books, are not commonly given to preschoolers.

3. Many parents and older siblings take great pride in coaxing a toddler to repeat words and phrases upon command. There is considerable pride in all phases of a baby's development, physical and verbal. These achievements are part of the way the baby gains conditional parental notice or approval.

4. Crowding in the home effects many toddlers. There is little space for them to explore, and they are not encouraged to do so -- partly because of the many dangerous or potentially harmful situations such as very hot space heaters, unflushed toilets, open stairways with no railings, etc. The young child has no place to be by himself, no place to escape the commotion of the rest of the household.

5. In many families the infant or very young child has a circle of adults who care for him, including a grandmother, an aunt, an older adult sister or some other adult who is periodically or frequently around and helping to take care of him. There are a number of adults whom the growing child recognizes as being connected with his family -- frequent visitors or people visited, or baby sitters -- and most of these are both neighbor and relative.

6. The baby-toddler-pre-schooler who has older siblings has considerable interaction with them. In families where the age spread of children is large enough, older sister and brothers often provide a lap for a baby, feed a bottle, rescue a toddler from the brink of danger, remove valued objects from a little one's grasp. Older brothers and sisters

in many families take pride in the accomplishments of the baby, and teach them new tricks to perform, "walking" a 9-month-old around the room, teaching a toddler to say words, repeat phrases. Teen-age boys and girls (and sub-teens) are called on for many errands in connection with a baby: fetch a bottle, change diapers, (girls only) hold baby a minute, watch toddler, etc. Older children tend to include young siblings when possible in their activities while lounging around the living room. By the time the "baby" reaches school age, the pride, fascination, interest and playfulness of his older siblings has diminished (perhaps because there is now a new baby). But a legacy of close sibling relationships seems to persist -- a feeling of belonging together, which outweighs petty quarrels and day-to-day squabbles.

7. As the toddler's perception and understanding grows, he cannot escape the awareness of the many crises his family goes through. Parents often discuss their problems with each other or with visitors openly and in front of their pre-school age children, in some cases on the assumption that the child won't understand it (which appears doubtful), in other cases with the expressed feeling that the whole family is in the crisis together. Even before the child is able to understand conversation, the crises of the family are made apparent to him by the increased tension of the mother, the increased yelling and the fighting between adults, and by the feeling he has of being left without mother's care and affection as she is wrapped up in other things.

8. Verbal threats and chastisements are common in many homes, but the frequency of yelling at a child (usually, but not only, when he is over a year old) and of slapping and spanking varies greatly from home to home. In some homes spanking or even slapping of small children is rare, whereas in quite a few homes, the reprimands, slaps, shoves, and being sent off to bed or to watch TV comprise a high proportion of the mother-child interaction.

9. Discipline appears not to be internalized in children early in their lives. Most children are kept out of danger or harm by a parent or other person pulling them away, giving verbal commands, spanking, etc.

This pattern appears to start early and continue on through childhood. Mothers of school age children report that they do not trust their children if unwatched: they seem to expect the natural tendency of the child to get into trouble unless an adult prevents or stops him. Mothers often forbid or refuse something without giving any reason, the child may test and tease, the mother again refuses, and may follow up with one swift spank, or by sending the child off -- to bed or to the TV set. It appears that young children are thus geared to an external source of behavior control, and tend to operate on the assumption that what you can get away with is ok. This need for discipline imposed from an external source may cause problems of conflict with parental authority latter on, and may be part of the behavioral problems of some of these children in their school lives.

10. Aspects of a child's life tend to be separated or compartmentalized. Learning, for example, is thought of as something the child will do when he gets to school, Although there is little intellectual stimulation of a supportive, unstructured nature, and little story-reading or informative conversations, and minimal encouragement of the child in asking and getting answers to questions and so forth, there is a noticeable emphasis on rote memory. Children are told to repeat phrases or setences, are taught to count and say their ABC's -- usually by older siblings. A nearly-three year-old could recite part of the Gettysburg Address -- much to the amusement and pride of her family -- yet compared to normal middle-class types of preschooler's learning and exploring, this child appeared at a distinct disadvantage.

Health, Sickness, Accidents

Children of Road-Junction appear to have colds, ear and throat infections in no appreciably greater proportion than the rest of the local school population -- in fact, given the unreliability of winter heating, the frequently inadequate outdoor winter clothing, and the inadequacies of diet, especially in vitamin A and C content, it appears that many of these rural poor children are less prone to these common simple illnesses than one might expect. But it is likely that vitamin and iron deficiencies exist, and certainly upper respiratory complaints and intestinal troubles (manifested in diarrhea) are frequent and protracted. Notably, there appear to be a high incidence of strange or unexplained or serious disorders (such as a large number of families which have had at least one case of spinal meningitis in their children), as well as chronic semi-sickness in both children and adults -- anemia, bone and skin problems, such as a child's joints which are swollen with no apparent cause, bones that break easily or don't heal, recurrent skin infections which develop from each little scrape, fits or seizures in an infant, and among the adult population, high blood pressure, heart trouble of a chronic nature, bones that never healed properly after accidents, back injuries, "nerves", stomach disorders, and "sugar" (diabetes). The accident rate for children appears to be quite high, and includes serious accidents and many close calls. Childhood burns, some serious, fingers and arms caught in doors or machinery, and cuts which become infected are all quite frequent. When illness occurs, some families seek medical attention quickly, others not until the problem is obviously quite serious. Many a mother is apt to sit out a toddler's bout of fever and congestion -- applying Vicks rub to the chest and giving aspirin, holding and rocking a baby, keeping an older child warmly dressed and indoors, until after several days the child either improves or becomes so bad the mother goes in fright to a doctor. For school age children, absence from school is noticeably higher for some of these rural poor families, with many long absences and many weeks of incomplete attendence. But these absences are due not only to the child's illness, but to a host of other causes, including the necessity of helping out at home or keeping company for a sick family member -- and including also many instances of the mother wanting company at home or on her errands, and also the numerous cases of not being able to find shoes or a jacket, missing the bus, or just plain staying home.

Dental problems also are very common and commonly neglected. One child ate very little food because her teeth (1st teeth) were so badly decayed that chewing was both ineffective and painful. Another child submitted to her father's attempts to extract a tooth from a swollen jaw before the family finally agreed to let her be taken to a dentist (on Medicaid). Many of the adults, even those of young-middle age, no longer have their own natural teeth.

School-age Children

Of school age children some of the facets of growing up in Road-Junction are discussed in the chapter on school experiences. I can not attempt here to give a full picture of generalized life patterns of children of the 6 to 12 age range in Road-Junction, but merely to point out a few of what appear to be salient and prevalent factors, and to present a few revealing glimpses of some children in their homes.

The most striking general trait is the number of daily family crises with which each of these youngsters has to live, and the way in which the children become full participants in these crises rather than being shielded from them The degree to which children are a part of family crises, already mentioned in the case of preschoolers, increases as the child grows up. The lack of shielding of children from the turmoil of the family is due to things such as 1) the crowded living accommodations; 2) parental underestimation of how much of adult conversation a child can comprehend; 3) an unawareness of the kinds of emotional and psychological reactions which such family crises may produce in children; 4) an assumption that it's all part of the family; and 5) the mother's need to share her problems with someone, perhaps also her need to gain allies in her children.

Many instances over the past few years have shown children troubled, upset, behaving in ways not usual for themselves, and at root there has usually been some family crisis or upheaval. In most cases, not only is the crisis made fully obvious to the children, but also, there is very little explanation or attempt to find out what fears the crisis might be generating in the child and attempt to allay those fears. Many children merely learn to keep quiet, to duck the blows, not to ask questions, to try not to cry, and to try to forget it when the crises has passed. Crises come and go, and a child learns to live through them, to expect that food will somehow be provided, Daddy will come back, or Mom and Dad will make up again, or Mommy will get well again, etc, etc. and life will go on. For siblings in a family undergoing such crises, the fact that the children suffered and came through the crisis together seems to give greater strength to the sibling relationship. But even though children learn that most crises eventually blow over, they also tend to have a belief, an expectation that crises will continue to come -- a tendency to think "things are going smoothly now -- too smoothly even -- there's something bound to happen soon, trouble on the way". Some children appear haunted by the likelihood of trouble returning, they tend to prevent themselves from having a good time when they can because they have in mind that good times might soon end. Other children appear to be quite hardened, some even nonchalant, about the recurring problems, and some appear to thrive on the excitement -- but the deeper emotional effects may be quite different.

For many children -- indeed for many families -- life is an unending series of crises. Some psychological studies of the effects on children living through them would be very revealing. It appears that these children are action-oriented. Events -- past, present, future -- make up their lives, with such things as feelings, introspection, qualities, etc. being given little notice. It could be that this action orientations is part of the reason why these children often (more often than middle class) express boredom at having nothing to do, nothing happening, and why some find it impossible, as well as dull, to sit through hours of school every day. In a sense, they have grown up on action and excitement, and to be without them makes one feel jittery, not at ease -- almost like being broken from an addiction. For the school child, how dreadfully dull the bland little adventures of Dick and Jane must seem! Time is a concept which appears confused in the minds of many Road-Junction youngsters, but such understanding as they have is in terms of impressive events -- "When Daddy went away", "when the baby was in the hospital," "when Daddy stopped working", "when Mommy got sick," "when Uncle Joe came to stay at our house", "when my big sister and her baby came to live with us." Also, children look forward to many future events with great excitement. The exclamation "My aunt might be coming to visit us next week" could be an extremely important statement for an excited child, even if he has never seen that aunt and it's only 50 50 that she would be coming. The child builds it up, anticipates it eagerly -- and often the event doesn't ever occur, but by that time the child's focus may already be on some other anticipated future event "My Daddy's going to fix up the car and take us on a trip to far away."

Another noticeable trait in bringing up children in the Road-Junction area is the frequency and acrimony with which families talk about other families -- parents "talk down" the neighbors in front of, or to, their children. Parents will forbid their children from playing with certain other children of the neighborhood, saying, "I don't want you playing with those __________ kids". Similarly, parents may say, "Don't you let me hear you talk like that again -- that's the way those people next door talk -- it may be all right for them, living like pigs, but here I won't allow it." Thus, children grow up knowing that their parents consider some families unfit to associate with -- and though some of these children may happily take advantage of school time to be together, in many cases the disparaging criticisms, which do not go in a hierarchical order, but circular with no family assured top place, stick in the children's minds, and often generate fights in school.

Certainly one of the traits that many Road-Junction children pick up between the period of babyhood and adolescence is a generally low self-image, a lack of confidence in themselves, a limiting of desires and hopes for themselves, a feeling that they and their sisters and brothers are not the same kind of people as lots of other people. The poor self-esteem is a product of both home life factors and of school experiences -- (the ways in which school experiences contribute to this low self-esteem are described in the separate chapter on the schools and the children of Road-Junction). As for contributing factors at home, it would certainly seem that at quite an early age the child may become aware of his parents' real lack of self-esteem. Many parents give off the unmistakable impression that they are wounded or deformed creatures who have withdrawn from the world. Children certainly must realize something of their parents' lack of confidence and low self image as they become aware of such things as their mother's total avoidance of appearing in public places -- almost giving the impression that she is ashamed, not only of how she dresses or looks, but of who she is, or their father's defensive attitude or defeatism about the various problems which come up on the job or with "the authorities".

A child learns that his parents have resigned themselves to a life of problems and have more or less given up hope of ever raising above them, and that his parents know that the outside world doesn't want to be bothered with them.

As these children mature, their perception of their community and their evaluation of themselves and their life chances begin to be verbalized. A mother reported the following conversation between herself and her boy of 8 years. "Mom, when I get growed up, I won't ever come back on The Road." The mother replied "Well, you'll have to come back to see me -- unless I move away, and I'm not about to." Boy: "Oh, I'll come visit you. But I don't want to live here. I don't want anybody saying things about me. I'll show them. I'm just as smart as those rich kids. I can be just as good as they are." Alas, with this particular child, it is apparent already at this age, that he is quite likely to wind up on The Road or in a similar place, leading and perpetuating the same kind of life as his father and his grandfather -- unless sufficient help reaches him soon. And one year after the boy made the above statement, at age 9, he and his family were talking about trying to regain some of the adjacent land which his grandfather had owned so that the boy could build his house there when he grows up.

From scattered high-schoolers, who have grown up in The Junction, some quotes on their attitudes towards their community are revealing.

A 16-year-old girl, living at home, expecting a baby:

> "I've got to get out of here. This is a no good place to live. Everybody's down on everybody. Nobody helps anybody. There's no spirit. It's too hard to live your own life here, stay out of other people's business, keep them out of yours. There are too many problems here."

A boy in his senior year of high school said:

> "I've got to go to college so I can have the education to get a good job. I don't want to end up like my father, shifting from job to job. I don't want to end up living like this, and having all this many kids."

(This boy earned a scholarship to college, after doing well in school and has the potential to realize his life goals.) Some teens, however, have unrealistic aspirations. A 10th grade girl wants to go into the WACs, for which she says she needs two years of college. But her very spotty attendance record over the past few years and her limited achievement make this unlikely for her. For this girl merely to graduate from high school, with training to get some kind of a job, and without having a fatherless baby before reaching 18 years old would set a record in her family. Some teens have indicated that they are not planning to go anywhere else, that they'll just grow up.

Several families presently have teenagers or young adults who already embody the failure, resignation or alienation of their parents -- young people who have backed out of, or turned their backs on, the outside world.

In one family, the oldest son, 21, has already spent some time in prison, as well as in the mental hospital, having been in near-constant trouble since being permanently expelled from school at an early age (15) after several years of "disciplinary problems" there. Presently he is on drugs (the only case I know of in the Road-Junction area) and his mother has refused to let him stay home because of the bad influence on the younger children, so Welfare is paying his rent in the city. To support his drug habit, he has turned to stealing, according to his mother, though as yet hasn't been caught. The next oldest child, just 20, has a year old baby and lives at home. A high school graduate, she attempted some secretarial job-training at the urging of her Welfare case worker, but found she was often unable to attend because she didn't have transportation, or her baby was sick, or she didn't have any proper clothes to wear, so she quit. Now, she sits home, "refusing to go out into the world", "getting fatter and fatter and hating herself and telling her baby 'I hate you'" (these are the girl's mother's words.) The next daughter, 16, is married, living in a house nearby, with her new baby, while her husband is in the Service. This girl's father -- first husband of her mother -- lives with her. The next two children have had some troubles, one has done time in a "training school". The twelve year-old has been in and out of special education classes, has been suspended from school several times, and sits home listening to his mother rant about the unfair treatment he has gotten at school. For most or all of the children of this family, the future appears to hold no improvement at all over the past generation, and they are likely to perpetuate the pattern of life in Road-Junction -- either there or in similar locales. (The parents of these teenagers came to Road-Junction from similar rural poverty areas in other parts of the county.)

Some of the children of Road-Junction represent the second or third generation of problems, and as they grow up they get further and further beaten down, so that the end product as they emerge into adulthood is really a difficult case, almost beyond retrieval. A vexing example of this is a group of youths -- ages 17 to 22 -- who have grown up together or at least spent the last few years hanging around together. They are cousins and or neighbors of each other -- and of the other residents of The Road. There is a nucleus of 5 boys, either reared on The Road at the same time or joined to them as buddies or "husbands" or boy friends of their sisters. These "boys" are quite frequently in trouble with the law -- sometimes caught, often not even apprehended, or sometimes let off lightly. They are a nuisance to some of the neighbors. They have no regular jobs, they run AWOL from the Service or are dishonorably discharged -- or aren't even accepted into the Service. They hang around, they beget babies, they desert women, etc. etc. How and why did they get this way? Their neighbors and even their parents ask this question.

These fellows mostly grew up in real poverty and in seriously disrupted homes. For example, one boy's father deserted his mother half the time to take up with the mother of another of these boys -- that mother having deserted her husband. Alcohol used up much of the money -- including Welfare money -- of the household (and the father rarely worked). Another boy grew up feeling that neither his mother nor his father (separated) wanted him (in fact, it was sometimes said that he wasn't really his father's child). At the age of 16 he was completely on the loose, and was sleeping in abandoned cars. Some of the siblings and cousins of these boys are having a rough time, but are leading relatively straight lives. These family members some of them living on The Road, are very concerned about these youths to whom they feel quite close. They feel that the parents have been part of the cause of the trouble, but that other factors were important. They wonder why society hasn't been able to help these boys as they were growing up. They also blame the schools. "He went through 9th grade before he quit; and he can't even read or write." The school experience corroborated the home experience, in defeating the growing child, squashing him deeper into discouragement and deviance the more he found it impossible to make it in the world. Some of these youths are "lucky" enough to be "rescued" by the Service, while others rebel or gain very little from it. Their relatives wonder if they will ever get the kind of help that can change their lives for the better. So far, their lives have been a series of experiences which have crippled their potential for succeeding in life. The schools have definitely not redirected these boys: so far, neither have probation officers or any of the other "helping services" of the community. Some of these youths have now fathered the start of a new generation of problems. Will these babies grow up to suffer the same fate as their fathers? Unless drastic changes are made in the way society deals with such problems, the answer is bound to be affirmative.

Some of the recent teenagers, however, have managed to get out and to make successful lives for themselves. Others have moved away, but perpetuated the same problems, others have remained home or in the neighborhood, continuing on in the established patterns. The factors involved in why one child makes it, while another, even in the same family, doesn't, are unclear. In some cases it appears that intellectual ability is part of the difference, since this may enable a child to avoid the defeat and defeatism in early schooling. In some cases, the child who was in infancy and early childhood at a time when his parents' marriage was fairly strong fared better than other children who were born or were young at times of marital stress and other family problems. (In some families, factors such as this may be the reason why the oldest child or children seem to do better than subsequent ones -- but in the sample of families here studied, there is no clear generalization about oldest children doing best.) Certainly numbers and spacing of children may affect such things as the amount of time and attention the mother may have to devote to them. Certainly, too, the kinds of experiences they have in school are very important in determining the later-life success of the children of Road-Junction. In the next chapter, the whole matter of the experiences children and their families have with the schools will be discussed.

Implications for Women's Employment

The stresses of growing up poor are more emotional than financial. The crisis-to-crisis existence led by many families, undoubtedly takes a high toll in rendering people less effective in life than they potentially could be. Particularly in those families where economic poverty was aggravated by large family size, where crowding and deprivation are constant, the strain on the married couple is high and is deflected onto the growing children, who may exhibit a kind of numbness or dullness from years of ducking blows, of living from one crisis to the next.

Because of the inter-generational nature of the multi-problem existence of many Road-Junction families, an inquiry into the question of employment of the women of working age should take into account factors in these women's childhoods. It is generally apparent (though not tested and measured) that child-rearing practices, and indeed whole patterns of growing up in Road-Junction have not changed in the last generation as much as they have in the dominant society, for poverty and deprivation, more than theories of childrearing or other factors, determine the life styles of these growing children. Thus, the analysis of present day childhood patterns may prove helpful to understanding forces and influences not only on the next genrration of women, but on the present one as well. The women currently of working age have mostly suffered through instability in their childhood worlds, and this has left its mark in their lack of ability and preparedness to enter the employment world in anything more than a marginal capacity.

Futhermore, for those women, certain factors in the way they in turn raise their children also effect the job potential of the women. A woman may have few children or many, but she perhaps feels more tied down by them than a comparable middle class woman, not only because she has so much housework to do for them with minimally efficient resources and appliances, but also because she doesn't trust her children to keep themselves in line without her constant supervision. In only very few cases does the woman leave her children alone at home, partly because of the realistic fear that children can't keep thenselves out of trouble, partly because of the high number of hazards or "attractive nuisances" around the home -- the combination yields a potentially dangerous situation. And, as we have seen in the chapter on social organization, many women feel that the neighbors and the neighborhood are not safe substitutes for mother and home.

The crisis-to-crisis existence of these families -- the high incidence of marital break-up, etc., all tend to make a home life which is too unsettled and unpredictable for the mother to feel she can make a long term committment to the outside world -- as for a job training program and subsequent "responsible" job. A woman never knows when the roof will cave in, so to speak. Life, in many families, is a series of unfinished projects, unrealized plans and dashed hopes. Therefore, a woman may feel unable to commit herself to a long-term goal, such as job-training would involve.

These women may also find that their children are more demanding (than middle class children, say) because they are more often sick or in a state of semi-sickness. Also, emotional problems may increase children's dependency -- they may cling to mother or to babyhood because of the insecurity that years of unpredictable or even violent home life have wrought. Or, the mother may feel a need to compensate to the child for her and her husband's shortcomings in fulfilling their parental roles, perhaps to assuage her own feelings of guilt on this score. All this is not to say that these mothers characteristically spend more time tending, playing with, talking to and comforting their children than middle-class women -- such is not apparently the case. But still, the mother may feel the need of being there in the house with the children. For many children, the mother's presence in the house -- even if it is not a positive, encouraging interaction, may be one of the few constants in life upon which they can rely -- and a mother may be reluctant to take this away from her children.

However, there are some contradictions to the above. There are women who do take jobs, and leave their children to the care of a sitter -- a relative and/or neighbor. And some of the mothers of young children who are contemplating going to work or actively seeking work do not emphasize the arrangements for child-care as a major problem even when pre-school children are concerned, though they may prefer to work at odd hours so that a husband or an older daughter or other relative can care for the little ones more conveniently.

Certainly, the kind of childhood experiences described in this chapter for the present generation of children were probably similar enough a generation ago when the present mothers were growing up in Road-Junction and similar areas so that the stresses described have taken their toll on the current generation of mothers. For example, the chaotic nature of their childhood family (family of orientation) combined with the seemingly inescapable instability of their present family life (family of procreation) probably makes these women less able to maintain the kind of smooth, regulated pattern of day-to-day living which would be conducive to combining employment with being a home-maker and mother.

The instability of their households and of the households in which the present adults grew up can be seen as detrimental to women's long-term commitment to the job world, as well as to generally low expectations on the part of these women. Some of their husbands really prefer to have their wives stay at home, less out of manly pride or commitment to male-female stereotype roles than out of lack of trust in their wives. Some men do not want their wives free to associate with other people, and don't want them tasting the freedom and independence which would come from being out in the world and having their own money supply. Either could wreak an unstable marriage of the kind described in this chapter. This is the kind of reasonsing behind the expression "he keeps his wife barefoot and pregnant" -- i.e., tied to home. On the other hand, other men are delighted to have their wives work, as a supplemental source of income or even as the only source. Several women have used the phrase, "he's a man who won't work if his wife will" to describe some of their acquaintances. Predominantly, the weak family structure and tenuous marital relationships are the prevalent pattern, which often results in a matri-centered family with a weak husband and a wife who is the key to keeping the family together. (One wonders, in this multi-generational rural poverty situation, whether the weak hsuband-strong wife pattern may in part be perpetuated by the likelihood that strong mothers may raise weak sons. The frequent and obvious inability of the father to succeed in the outside world as a breadwinner and a successful law-abiding citizen, combined with the mother's derogatory statements about her husband and about men in general, may be destructive to the self-image of the growing boys.) The wife-mother tends to see her main job as supportive in emotional or affective ways, a role which she finds her husband incapable of filling. But if he is also unsuccessful in his role as economic supporter, then she may have to assume that role also, at least temporarily. Women who have had to work to support the children during periods of the husband's absence or ineffectiveness have said with pride, "at least I kept the family together with bread on the table." But generally, if the husband is operating effectively, and the woman has a real choice of whether to work or not, the family seems to go more smoothly if she is staying at home. In so many cases, however, the tenuous, trouble-ridden family structure and the unsupportiveness of a potentially disruptive or hostile neighborhood make it difficult for the woman to commit herself to taking a job. These factors, combined with the problems of finding a job with high enough pay to make her working financially profitable, lie behind the tendency of women from this area not to go to work, or to work only intermittently, despite the need for extra money.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILIES OF ROAD-JUNCTION AND THE SCHOOLS

The neighborhoods of The Road and The Junction are included in a large urban-suburban school district. While the children are of elementary age, they attend a school of about 450 pupils roughly five miles away, to which all are bussed. Graduation into junior high and later into senior high school means attending much larger schools in the city over 15 miles away. Prior to the mid-1950's, The Junction had its own one-room school, with secondary children bussed out, and children of The Road attended a small elementary school in a nearby hamlet. This change in schools which Road-Junction children attend has had a far-reaching effect on the children and particularly on the community's feelings of involvement with the school and the schooling of their children. Centralization of schools, in the case of The Junction, has removed one of the very few community institutions, made the education of young children a function of the outside world rather than a part of their own community life. In terms of facilitating social interaction within the community and in terms of the feelings of identification with the schooling of their children, the consolidation of the schools brought a real loss to the people of The Junction.

By educational standards, it appears most likely that the closing of the local school and the inclusion within a heterogeneous, forward-looking school district has probably been of benefit for the people of Road-Junction, although perhaps not as much as was hoped. An admirable, modern physical setting, innovative teaching, and some sensitivity to the particular needs of the "educationally disadvantaged" children are obvious in the elementary school which the children of Road-Junction and scores of other children of similar backgrounds attend. If the theory of the benefits of heterogeneity of schoolmates for the educationally disadvantage (á lá James Coleman) is correct, then the children of these rural hills and valleys stand to profit from the nature of the elementary school's population, for it is a strikingly heterogeneous population, with a substantial proportion of children from professional homes, a large bunch of children from solidly middle-class homes, and the children of poorer educational, "cultural" and economic background, who comprise at least one-quater of the total. It is not the purpose of this paper to assess the job which the elementary school (or the secondary) is doing, to evaluate the educational methods and content in their effectiveness in giving the children of Road-Junction a sound educational foundation (though such should probably be undertaken by qualified observers). Here, I will limit the discussion to a few general observations on the ways in which the educational needs of the children of rural educationally deprived backgrounds are met or not met, and particularly on the interaction (both feelings and actions) between families and the schools, focus on the kinds of relationships and problems which exist.

At the earliest level of schooling, the elementary school has had for several years a pre-kindergarten (pre-k), the New York State-funded counterpart of the Head Start program. Though initially slow to gain community acceptance in Road-Junction, the pre-k program has become an unqualified success as judged by most standards. Certainly the parents of Road-Junction have been pleased with the benefits to their children, with the side benefits of a social worker and a nurse, who help families of pre-k children in various small ways, and perhaps most of all, with the feeling that the pre-k teacher and staff and the parents of the enrolled children are united in their efforts on behalf of the children. The particular individuals who have held staff positions have been excellent in their work with the children and warm, friendly and accepted in their contacts with the mothers. There is generally a much closer relationship between a parent and the teacher of her pre-k youngster than there is between that parent and any other teacher of any of her other children.

One problem which the schools have not sufficiently worked on is the real discontinuity between pre-k and kindergarten, not just for the child, but also for the family. When the child rises to the level of kindergarten, not only does he find himself having a shorter school day and no lunch, but a much higher pupil-teacher ratio. And the family finds itself more or less dumped by the school, left to sink or swim in the middle-class world of dittoed notices sent home requiring money, or informing of something beyond their concern, or requesting a parent-teacher conference, or describing some upcoming PTA meeting which the parent wouldn't even consider attending. The closeness and good-will built up between the pre-k and many of the families generally disintegrates above that level. Perhaps this is inevitable, as the pre-k is designed and funded specifically with such aims, whereas there is neither personnel nor funds in any higher level of school to maintain and nourish this home-school rapport for the economically and educationally disadvantaged. From kinkergarten upward, the focus of the school is to educate the child -- within the school, and if the parents do not go along in the endeavor, then despite the parents and home-school relationships grow weaker or hostile.

Aspects of Home-School Relationships

In a kind of vicious circle, many children of Road-Junction do not do particularly well at school, and this in turn tends to make parents resentful or critical of the school, which may reinforce, in turn, the child's limited success in school, It is "necessary" for the school to evaluate the child's progress and ability according to external criteria -- testing, grading, etc. -- and all too often for these "educationally disadvantaged" children, the evaluations, though perhaps couched in jargon, read "failure". To parents so sensitive about their own failure, so keenly aware of the way they are classified and judged by the outside world, a report card that shows below average reading levels, a teacher comment on behavior problems, a recommendation that a child have speech therapy at school, or attend the mental health clinic -- these all starkly spell failure, failure of child and of parent. Some of the parents are quick not only to apply the term "failure", but to interpret the evaluation as signifying that the child has a defect or is below normal. This strikes fear into the parents, and guilt, and their reactions are not always rational or helpful in solving the problem -- they may attempt to shield and protect the child, and they may reveal to the whole family their anger or hurt at being told a child is deficient, while putting off the suggested treatment. Parents are quick to feel that their children are being judged by an outside world which has no use for them. These fears and misunderstandings are made worse by the fact that parents do not really know how the schools operate. For example, the elementary school operates on a very free ungraded system, and levels are continuous so that "flunking" a grade, or even "repeating" hardly exists. But parents of these Road-Junction children (and others like them) don't understand this at all, despite all the well-meaning PTA programs on the topic, and many live with a fear of their children flunking and being the object of derision. Certainly the fear of a child's failure, the easily hurt feelings when a child is measured and found wanting, are engendered by the parents' memories of their own past failures, their conviction of their continued failure in school and in the world in general, their insecurity in a world they have been unable to master. Thus, parents react with personal hurt when a child doesn't succeed in school, they are faced with this problem so often that home-school relationships become and remain generally poor.

There is a fairly high incidence of children from Road-Junction who have been found in need of special education classes for children of limited learning ability, and in several of these cases the results have been less than desirable. Perhaps in some cases, decisions about such categorization of children are made without sufficient information about home-life factors affecting the child's school or test performance -- one sometimes has the feeling that children are shunted off to special classes because the regular teachers are simply tired of trying to do anything with them.

Many of the children of Road-Junction, however, manage to progress in early elementary school with or only somewhat behind their age-mates. They are generally not likely to be found in the accelerated groups, more often in the slower groups. A child may be "in" fourth grade, for example, with his age-mates, but reading on a second grade level. It is quite likely that the child who enters kindergarten "educationally disadvantaged" finally finishes 6th grade still "educationally disadvantaged", but also motivationally damaged. Although the grouping of children by abilities is only for certain subjects and is not at all rigid and permanent (with children grouped heterogeneously for other subjects, and individuals moved in and out of groups as their performance warrants) the tendency does arise to have ability groups correlated with family residence and socio-economic status, thus the heterogeneity of the total school population is not fully effective as a force in helping children rise above early childhood educational deprivation. For some children the groupings may cause unexpected results: by putting together children who progress slowly, they may also be putting together children who have low opinions of each other not only as failures in school, but also as members of neighborhood families whose opinions of each other may be quite low. The recent trend in the school towards individualized instruction probably alleviates some of these problems.

In non-academic matters, the Road-Junction children in elementary school may also be unable to achieve. Although some are naturally good at sports, they are not generally prominant as school-recognized athletes. Lack of parental encouragement, inability to attend after-school or little-league-type athletics, and lack of money for equipment and the lack of intensive, competitive emphasis of organized sports, all combine, so that despite some athletic ability, a child (boy) from Road-Junction is not apt to gain status by athletics.

Similarly, the children of Road-Junction are not conspicuous as school leaders in the social and extra-curricular events. They do not become team captains or club presidents with any frequency. They tend to be followers. Thus, when these children go on to junior high school, they are too lacking in leadership experience and too unsophisticated to be able to attain positions of social prominence.

In other non-academic matters, the children of these rural proverty backgrounds also are conspicously at the bottom. They are disproportionately the trouble causers, the ones sitting in the principal's office or standing in the hall, the troublemakers on the playground and on the bus. Furthermore, they are not prompt and regular in so many of the little things a school child and his parents are responsible for doing. (Bringing lunch money and excuses and permission slips from home, returning library books, having parents come to school for conferences, etc.) Over the years, teachers get accustomed or resigned to the difficulty of getting these children to accomplish all these routine matters, and a kind of list of grievances builds up against a child which is transferred to his subsequent siblings in the school, and the result is a teacher who shrugs her shoulders and says, "well, what can you expect from someone from that family -- why I remember way back when I had her older brother and I couldn't get him to do a single thing." School personnel become hardened to these children after years of dealing with many of the petty inconveniences resulting mainly from the differences between middle-class expectations and the realities of poverty living.

Home-Life Factors Affecting Children's Attitudes Towards and Performance in School

In some significant measure, the reason why many Road-Junction children do not do well in school has little to do with academic programs, instructional materials and educational theories. Many non-school influences on a child are at work which may modify or even nullify the best efforts of even a concerned and conscientious school. Hence, it is important for the school, if it is to achieve its goals of educating every child to his full potential and providing him with the tools to enable him to gain some sense of accomplishment in school and in life, to try to understand some of the non-school influences on the child, to reach out to the child's family and community. With such knowledge, the school could better tailor its program to make it more meaningful for the children and more successful. Perhaps the school would find that, for these particular children, it can not take for granted certain basic assumptions or expectations which it generally holds.

1. The child's basic mental health can not be taken for granted. Some children are so unsure of their own worth and confused about their place in a family, and may harbor such anxieties about adult authority figures, that the school environment may be a difficult one for them to function in.

2. The child's ambition and positive drive to learn may need considerably more coaxing than teachers realize -- and the prospect or actuality of failure may be quite detrimental to such drive as may exist. For any child who is not sure whether he can do the work correctly, perhaps it it is better not to try -- he may set very limited goals for himself to avoid failure and defeat.

3. The school should question its centrality in the child's life. True, the children go off on the bus to spend a major part of each day in school, much as their fathers or mothers might go off in the car to work for the day, so, physically, a large part of the child's day is spent in school. But for many children, the real events, the excitements of home life, overshadow the hum-drum of school life. School simply can't compete for importance with such things as parental fights, the

disappearance or return of a parent, with neighborhood happenings (fights, accidents, fires, etc.) and with such things as no food in the house or no heat, or an acute illness in the family, or the police coming to pick up a member of the family, or a sister moving in with her brand new baby. In these rural poverty families, so much does happen, and so much of it is dramatic, and the children **are** so much a part of it all. Indeed, many families lead a kind of crisis-to-crisis life, in which there is almost always something acute or dramatic happening, usually generating intense emotions and behaviors of family members. Of several families closely chronicled for over a year, none is without a crisis for long, none has run smoothly for more than a brief period, all have had a series of dramatic events including all of the kinds of things mentioned above. With this kind of constant, high-intensity drama going on all around a child, is it suprising that school is not his major focus in life, let alone an important concern of his family's? Even when running smoothly, a Road-Junction family lives by a schedule determined less by school routines and needs than by other factors -- the husband's work schedule, for example, or late night television.

4. The fourth assumption which the school cannot take for granted -- and which this particular school doesn't -- is that the parents place a high value on schooling or education for their children and act accordingly. While some of these parents who work in unskilled jobs, are convinced that lack of education is what is keeping them in low paid jobs and miserable poverty, others do not see any real connection between education and life chances. Parents tend to be anxious for their children to do well -- or at least not to do poorly -- at least when the children are in their primary years. But if a child doesn't do well in school after several years, some parents assume that there's not much point pushing that particular child -- maybe he wasn't cut out to be bright and well-educated, maybe he's "just like his father". Doing well in school is seen by many families as being highly correlated with being a rich kid. Although some parents are unconcerned with higher education -- high school and beyond,-- some others are very matter-of-fact about their children's future education. An illiterate man spoke glowingly of

the brightness of his youngest child, who was in pre-kindergarten, and of the pre-k program itself: "That's where my son starts getting ready to go to college, in pre-k." In another family, the wife forced herself to finish high school, but her husband didn't finish, and she blames his history of unstable and unsatisfactory jobs on his lack of education. They want their children to get a good education -- but so far, two have dropped out of high school and two in junior high appear to be just hanging on, but one boy did graduate from high school and entered college on a full scholarship. (He said, "I have to go to college so's I can get a good job in life and not live like my father.") In other families there is not any thought or mention of college, and a drop-out pattern exists among most or all of the children. Thus, the educational aims of the people of Road-Junction vary considerably in their valuation of education for their children as crucial to their success in the world and as a source of vicarious success for the parents. But often the realities of poverty living common to most of these families, rather than theoretical goals, are the real determining factors in these matters.

5. Parents also vary considerably in their understanding of what education is like nowadays, of what their children are doing in school, of what the school is trying to do and how. By and large, parents do not have a close interaction with the school and are not aware of events and procedures there. They are not aware of current, modern approaches and curriculum, and may be bewildered by his child's reporting of school activities, as: "we baked a cake in math today", "I have five teachers", "my spelling isn't in a class-room, it's in the resource room", etc. The school has tried over the years to keep parents abreast of all the modern developments, but it is obvious that such attempts do not reach the families of Road-Junction. The PTA sponsors programs for parents to listen to panel discussions about innovations in teaching, as well as the usual meetings to inspect classrooms, "go to school", and talk with the teachers, but the turnout at such events rarely includes any parents from Road-Junction or other similar areas, so this is a useless forum for trying to bridge the home-school gap for these people. One woman,

who is vitally interested in her children's school progress, and who often visits the school to talk to teachers, expressed the typical feelings.

> "PTA is where the big wheels get together and talk about the rest of us. The tureen supper (annual dish-to-pass event) really puts pressure on low income families. You have to bring silverware -- well, that might be hard for some. And not a one of us on this Road would know the proper way so far as what to do and what to say. How do you act at a buffet: Do you take a little bit of everything so's you won't hurt anybody's feelings? Or if you do that will they think you're being greedy? And if the food I brought wasn't eaten I'd feel bad. They could serve coffee and tea, with no fancy cups -- just styrofoam ones. No cookies -- 'cause even with cookies someone might wonder if she's eating properly. There's a resentment about eating. But anyone can drink coffee and feel comfortable."
>
> "A teacher would never dream of sitting down with you at one of those dinners and talking everyday, simple things with you. They talk in big words. They should talk simple to people who haven't had as much education."
>
> "So, no. I don't go. The president of the PTA even called me up once to ask me if I could come to a meeting, but I told her 'no'. I told her I was too tired and I didn't have a sitter for the kids."

Many parents of Road-Junction appear to make little effort to understand just what their child is doing at school. If the child seems relatively happy about school, and if the report cards aren't too bad and no severe discipline problems arise, then the parents assume that both the school and the child are doing a good job, and no questions are asked. When problems arise, some parents feel quite free to go to school express anger and criticize, and they do have some feeling that the school will respond to the complaint. But other parents do not go to the school, and keep their problems, their feelings and their bewilderment to themselves.

Junior High School and High School

Generally, the home-school communication and understanding is much weaker for Road Junction families with the junior high and even more so with the high school than on the elementary level. And in the effect of schooling on the child, there is much that is negative, counter-productive or even harmful to the child as he proceeds up through secondary school. The problems of effectively educating rural poverty children become even more obvious on the secondary school level. Many of the Road Junction children have only just barely made it out of elementary school and arrive at junior high with deficiencies which then become real and obvious handicaps. Academically, they may be unable to stand alone and progress. Although the elementary school has aimed its instructional style at preparing children to assume independence and responsibility for their own work and behavior, these are not virtues which many Road-Junction children have sufficiently mastered, and this lack, plus a tendency to limited skill in reading and/or math, makes them unable to meet the standards of secondary school. Furthermore, some are so defeated and convinced of their inability by the time they finally finish elementary school that "making it" in the regular paths seems out of the question to them, so they resign themselves to getting what kicks they can with their friends, sneaking out of school for the afternoon, etc. Truancy, or excessive unexplained absence from school, is a real problem. Fights involving Road-Junction children are also not uncommon. Some of these fights have a clear basis in neighborhood family fights -- the children call each other the names they hear their parents using to refer to "those no-good down the road." Some parents have quite clearly stated that these fights at school are an outgrowth of the nastiness and name-calling and prejudices within the Road-Junction community.

The youngsters of Road-Junction are not generally able to substitute athletic or social or organizational prowess for academic achievement as a means to recognition and status in the junior or senior high school -- their deficiencies and "disadvantaged" status make them at least as unprepared to be able to compete and achieve in these non-academic spheres. Socially, they tend to hang around with other teenagers from the neighborhood, especially with their brothers and sisters, or with other marginal, non-academically oriented teens, but do not frequently participate in organized social affairs.

Some of the Road Junction teenagers have recently been attending, or are planning to enter, the BOCES sponsored programs where they go to school for half a day and work at a paying job for half a day. Although this has not been seccessful in all cases, it does seem to provide an attractive way of staying on to finish school.

As far as parents are concerned, the world of secondary school is almost totally unknown -- the student's academic and other activities, even the building he attends, is not within the family's ken. There is little contact or communication between home and school at these levels, so that the parent generally leaves the teenager on his own as far as choices of subjects and activities within the system, and parents are not considered partners in the child's educational pursuits and planning. For students who are not doing well at school, less parental concern seems to be generated than it does for elementary children in such situations, partly because the parent feels hopelessly unknowledgable and impotent to influence, or even question, school procedures and policies, and partly because the parent may feel that the child is on his own by that age, that he's never done too well in school before, so why expect him to now, that he's only got to wait another year until he can legally quit. Furthermore, parental pressure on the child might further complicate parent-child problems at home. The drop out rate for Road-Junction children appears to be fairly high. Boys quit, get jobs or hang around, eventually get drafted maybe. Girls get married, or get pregnant. One 15 year-old was back in school after her baby was born, as she said she wanted to finish up -- but she has stayed home a lot for minor reasons, has been suspended and reinstated at least once, and has generally not found any compelling reason to stay in school.

So, although some Road-Junction children manage to come out of the educational system with a diploma in hand, the prevalent pattern is to suffer years of being beaten down as a failure, never being able to achieve, behind at the start and getting further and further behind (relative to other children) as they spend more years in school. After putting in as many as twelve years in a supposedly high-ranking school system, some of the Road-Junction youths are real functional illiterates.

Summary

Many of the points made concerning the experiences of Road-Junction children in school and the attitudes of children and parents towards schools and education are probably typical of "lower class" or "educationally deprived" children in any segment of our society, not unique to these Northern Appalachia pockets or rural poverty. What perhaps make the problems described here distinct is that the children are integrated into schools where the predominant student type is middle class, where there are numerous successful children, where the school is a "good" one, and where these children of rural poverty stand out by their inability to succeed -- by their many small and large failures, by their inability to overcome their initial handicap despite many years in school, The psychic cost to the individual of entering a school at age 5, already well behind his classmates, and being engulfed year after year in programs which are beyond his abilities or his concerns, where he and his brothers and sisters and his neighbors are always in the slow groups -- the emotional and psychic effect of all this is unmeasured and unknown.

Implications for Women's Employment

The material in this chapter is perhaps only indirectly related to the question of employment of women from these Road-Junction (and similar neighborhood) families. However, and understanding of how the children and their parents react to and operate in the educational process is worth considering here, largely because it sheds more light on the total life-style and problems of the people of such a rural poverty area. Furthermore, the women of working age are the products of these schools a few years ago, and the potential working women of a few years hence and presently making their way through the schools. Certainly, the kinds of experiences these women had in school when they were young (generally not very satisfactory ones) not only influence their job potential today, but also have a more far-reaching effect, as follows. The negative experiences of the mother in school in her day tend to make for poor home-school relations between her and the schools her children attend, and this, in turn, may have a definite effect on her children's potential for a successful and worthwhile experience in their school years. Also, children may receive minimal parental support and backing concerning their school life merely because the parents don't know or understand what school is all about now-a-days. There is a poignant example of a boy finishing up elementary school with a brilliant record behind him; but there are problems looming for him, as his success in school, his aptitude for and enjoyment of learning, are totally incomprehensible to his illiterate father and real friction between the two is rising, as it is between the boy and a younger "unsuccessful" sibling. The boy's committment to go on in education, to continue to work hard and do well, will have to be very high in order to outweigh the discomfort it causes him at home -- discomfort that may be stronger than the praise he sometimes receives, particularly from his mother.

The modern, academically-oriented education may in many ways be dysfunctional to the children of Road-Junction, unless they can really make that leap out of their problem-laden background (-- and the schools alone can hardly make that leap happen). One teen-age girl withdrew from an experimental program because she felt that it wasn't preparing her for the kind of life she expected -- getting some low level job and getting married. Perhaps, then, it is understandible (and maybe partially true) when a grandparent complains that his elementary-age grandchildren don't need science courses at such a young age -- "only people who are going to be scientists and educators need to have such courses." Ideally, one would feel this man was wrong -- but realistically, he may, sadly, be right, at least as far as many Road-Junction and similar children are concerned. Perhaps it should be a focus of the schools not only to offer all those refinements of curriculum on an equal basis to all children, but to do what they can to help shape the lives of these children so that such input actually is to the children's later advantage.

Certainly as regards the outlook for future women working, the schools need to upgrade the career image of very young girls, need to help them set their sights on desirable, but realistic, vocational and academic training, so that the young girl graduating from or dropping out of high school has some real possibility of a job future that contains more than janitorial work done intermittently between babies.

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND WORK

Introduction

There are 25 households which have women of working age among the 30 households included in this study. (Four of the 30 have elderly women, and one has no woman, thus reducing the sample size by 5 households.) Of the 25 women considered, eight are currently working. (Actually, one of these eight just recently lost a job due to the closing down of the small factory where she worked, but she is counted as a working woman, as she has worked at this job steadily for 11 years, and is currently looking for a new job.) The kinds of jobs these women who are working or who have worked include mainly assembly line work in factories, janitorial and other services, work in laundries, and two office jobs -- bookkeeper type. Of the eight women who now work, four are in lower-middle income households, all in The Junction, and four are in poverty households of both The Road and The Junction.

Of the four lower-middle income women who work, all four have husbands in the home, and all four husbands are working. In three of these four households, the family income would probably be above poverty levels even if the women were not working. In other words, three of these women work not out of absolute necessity to provide for the family -- their husbands have fairly good, steady jobs, (one is a foreman in plumbing construction, for instance.) In the fourth case, the husband makes a liveable income, but his periodic ill health makes the income less sure. Of these four middle income women who work, three still have young children, including preschool children in 2 cases -- the 4th has grown children. The arrangements made for the children depend on their age. One woman with only preschool children, takes them to a sitter (whom she knew previously) in the town where she works. The second woman has her mother-in-law who lives right nearby and her mother who lives 8 miles away trade off doing babysitting for her preschooler, with the school-aged children also supervised after school by their nearby grandmother. The third middle income woman, with children in their early teens, has let them fend for themselves after school, with a neighbor to go to in case of trouble. It would seem, then, that these women of middle income who work do so for reasons other than sheer need -- they could get by without 2 incomes in the family -- and they do not let the young age of their children prevent them from working.

The concern of this report, and the focus of the following discussion, however, is with the low-income women. Of the 4 low-income women who work, each family has a low income despite the woman's working. Only 1 of these working low income women has a husband both present and working -- but in this case the husband has a sporadic job history. Two of these 4 low income women who work have husbands present but not working, and one has no husband present. Of these 4 low income households whose women work, none is now or has recently been on welfare. Thus, with on welfare, and in 3 out of 4 cases, no income from a husband, the woman's work is the main source of family income. Of these 4 low income women who work, one has a single child who is in elementary school, but the other 3 have no children at home at all -- thus no babysitting arrangements to make. In contrast to the 4 middle income women who work, these low income women work because the income is absolutely essential, but they tend not to work if these are young children at home. It appears that the low income woman with young children at home is less likely to take a job than is the middle or lower-middle income woman with children. This seems to make sense -- if a family is low income, the cost of babysitters as well as transportation to work, and the difficulty and time consumption involved in housework where there may be inadequacies in household devices or services -- all make it less worthwhile and more difficult for the woman of a really poor family to go out and take a job -- and the kind of job she could get might offer such low pay and work of such a drudgery type as to make no incentive at all to take a job. Welfare help may seem a better alternative to her, or the family may seek out a living on what the husband brings home, combined with the benefits of Food Stamps, free school lunches, and medicaid. Only if the husband is not providing' income and if there are no small children (preschool) is one of these low income women likely to go to work. (Putting the figures another way, of the 4 households where the husband is present but doesn't work, or contribute income to the household, in 3 of these the woman works, in 1 welfare is the main source of income.) Thus, in low income or poverty households, the woman tends to work if she has no husband or if the husband doesn't work or has an unsteady job history, and if there aren't young children at home (under age 9). In the middle class women of this study, the woman may work even though she has a husband present, working and earning enough to get by, and even though she has young children.

Although only 8 women are currently working, many more than that have worked at some time in the past -- regularly or sporadically, before and between babies. There are very few who have virtually never worked.

The Job World for These Women, Their Perception of Their Jobs and Their Job Potentials

Basically, the women in this study do not tend to look on work as a career or as part of a career sequence. Although some women have worked for long periods of time (12 to 18 years) at the same job, it appears that even for these women, the job is not seen as a career -- it is merely a job with longevity, or the wife sees herself merely as a steady worker. There is not the feeling that a young wife's job choice and job-training choices should be done with an eye to a future career (after children are grown up), a career suited to her interests and abilities in which she can gain personal satisfaction. Rather, she takes a job, or a series of jobs, in a somewhat happenstance manner. If it turns out to be a steady long-term job which is not too disagreeable, then she considers herself to be well off. There are exceptions though. One woman worked intermittently at various jobs ranging from factory to part-time school aide, and now in early thirty's, with all children in school, she is thinking about going back to work. "But I don't want some dumb old factory work. What I'd like to do is take my high school equivalency and then go into training to be a practical nurse. I always wanted to be a nurse when I grew up, but things didn't work out that way. Maybe now I could do it." But it is the poignant and distressing plight of this woman to have middle class goals while living what is and is likely to remain a real poverty and disadvantaged life. In the same breath she says "It really would help if I could get a job -- like right now, we have to stop all work on fixing up our house because we just don't have the money" (husband employed, steady, full-time, plus a welfare supplement, money not being spent foolishly or on drink) "and we just make it from one pay check to the next. And then we have to think about the future -- in six more years our oldest boy will be ready for college, and we'd like to be able to give him a little help if we could the first year. And then the other boys will be ready for college soon after that." (If one were to predict, one might guess that the oldest boy will continue to do very well in school and would be able to get a scholarship to college -- the special scholarship set up for children of disadvantaged homes -- but the chances for the younger boys are less bright. No mention was made by the mother of desires to have the daughters go to college -- and in fact their chances of success in academic life are not too high.) This woman is perhaps exceptional among those studied in her dreams of the future for herself and her children, and her talk of a career, the phrase "I'd like to go into . . ." is atypical. It may also be unrealistic, given the particular family situation and the cost and time required for training. She herself would clearly be up to such training and job standards, but may get bogged down before she even starts or somewhere along the way by the many complicated problems that envelop her in her day to day life of poverty. However, constant help from a social worker, financial assistance from Welfare when things get tight, and continued success by both members of the couple in battling alcoholism might enable her to succeed in her aims sometime in the future.

Most women are not particular about the jobs they take -- nor are they enthusiastic about them.. Many feel resigned by lack of education to take the lower types of jobs. They tend to have a fear of the better jobs, they feel unfit for the jobs, fear that they couldn't do all that the job required or that people expected. They feel that they wouldn't fit in, they wouldn't have the proper clothes or the sophistication of co-workers, or they fear that they would be looked down upon. These attitudes combined with their awareness or fear of their lack of sufficient skills, keep them within the labor pool of low skill factory and janitorial type jobs. Jobs such as para-professional aides in the schools are not usually attempted because of such feelings. One woman worked in such a capacity on a temporary basis in the school her children attended, and when the job was no longer available, she took a similar job in another school. This job she quit after a few weeks, partly because she couldn't get home quite as early as her school children, but largely because she felt out of place in that school, felt she was looked down on, was uncomfortable in a school where she was not known. She has waited over a year, hoping for a position to open up in the school where she considers she belongs, but has given up hope. For her and her neighbors, self-esteem and feelings of being accepted by co-workers are just as important to seeking and holding better jobs as is training.

Generally, the women do not view their jobs as careers and are not committed to them as a means of self-fulfillment, but rather tend to be target workers, taking on a job as a way to earn money, usually for a specific, immediate purpose or to support the family. Therefore, they tend to have little personal investment in or commitment to their jobs. Lack of a long-term commitment to the career idea makes them less likely to seek job training, and more likely to quite the job if the financial need decreases or if problems arise on the job or at home. Some women who do work talk quite frequently and lightly of quitting. "I told my husband last week that I was thinking of quitting, but then I kept on, but this morning I told him I thought I'd really quit." The advantage they see in low skill factory jobs is that status, advancement and permanence are not expected either by the employer or by the woman herself. Thus, she makes no committments, no promises, -- and she has learned not to set goals because of the pain of failing to reach them, she has learned that promises are dangerous things. Better not to be in a position where expectations are high.

Reasons Why Women Don't Work -- Difficulties for Those Who Do

1. Women's low self-image

The generally low self-image or self-esteem which characterizes many of the families of Road-Junction is one of the factors which must be taken into consideration in trying to discern why women do not work or why those who do work may do so sporadically, and why almost all of the women who do work consider their job to be little more than a way to earn money, and possibly also a way to get out of the house. This low self-valuation and its effect on participation in the job world applies to men as well as women. For both, limited self-esteem is another of the many handicaps they take with them when they go to get a job. For a woman however, the low self-esteem may do more to keep her out of the job world altogether than it does for the man -- as their values stress the desirability and normalcy of the husband working to support his family. For the woman, there is room for choice -- happenstance, family condition, the stage in the life cycle, family finances, and also the woman's predisposition to work or not to work and her evaluation of her worth as a worker and as a homemaker. All these may influence whether she ever takes and keeps a job.

Low self confidence of these people is due to the interaction of a number of causes. For many individuals, their whole life has been an exercise in failure, a series of things not done or not done well enough, a continual inability to achieve either what society says they should or even what they themselves desire. It appears that the low self-image may be learned or absorbed by a child quite early in life, and that it is quite easily picked up from his parents. A child can be quite easily made aware that his father is frustrated by the job he has, or by the job he can't get. Very few fathers are employed in the kinds of jobs where they gain personal satisfaction, where there is anything which an individual can do to gain pride from his work. Work is something that must be done, -- one goes to work because the money is needed and because one would lose the job if one didn't show up. Very few really derive any personal satisfaction from the work they are doing. Similarly, with women who work, their jobs are generally of a rather menial type, not offering any real chance of advancement or any means of deriving personal status and recognition. The impression which working mothers tend to give to their children is that they are working because the family needs money, that it is a sacrifice on the mother's part, and that the preference would be for her to stay home. So the growing child never gets any feeling that his parents are achieving any personal satisfaction from their jobs in the outside world. Few of the parents who have jobs express any desire to see any of their children grow up to do the same kinds of jobs.

In addition to the world of jobs, a child's parents seem also to be rebuffed in their other contacts with the outside world, and indeed, seem to give the children the impression that in many ways they are hiding from the rest of the world, that they mix with it as little as possible, and that they are unable to succeed in its social aspects or in its economic sphere.

A second main source of a growing child's limited self-esteem is his own early experiences in the outside world. For most children, the main early extra-familial interaction with the outside world is school, and it is here that he not only is supposed to pick up skills, but that he forms his own impression of himself, that he can begin to stand outside himself and place a value on himself. Unfortunately, as was pointed out in the preceding chapter, in all too many cases it is here in the early years of schooling that a child may come to the realization that he, too, like his parents, wasn't cut out to get alone in this world. If his achievement in the early years of school is limited, then he rather soon succumbs to the perception that he is bound to fail, that he is just like his parents' description of the neighbor's children, and bewilderingly, that he is just like his parents. Further experience in school is apt to reinforce his sense of failure, his conviction that it's all too hard for him, that he is not as good at school work and school life as other children. Thus, at the very same time that the child is becoming aware that his parents are downtrodden and failure-ridden, he is also being made aware that he is headed in the same direction, that he is already doomed to failure. Although these children certainly do not outwardly appear to be gloomy, many have achieved a real limitation of confidence and low self-valuation at a very early age. These children seem to set very limited goals for themselves, and by and large, they need constant adult supervision, encouragement and praise. It is noticeable among the adults of Road-Junction, that they, too, seem to need reassurance and approval every step of the way, and it is clear that such supportive encouragement comes only meagerly from the kind of discouraged family and neighborhood described in earlier chapters, nor is it apt to come from the kinds of employers and co-workers they have.

So, the teenagers who grew up in Road-Junction may find themselves with families and jobs at a relatively young age, tied to a life where one no longer has any choice, where one must continue at the same job because the money must continue to come in, where the young wife goes on having baby after baby because as long as she has all these at home, she might as well have another one -- besides, "a new baby has a way of keeping the family together." As such a couple matures, and their own babies go off to school, the woman is now in a position where she could theoretically go to work, get a job, get out of the house, contribute to the family income. At this stage in life, some of these women do, but for others, the life of poverty -- poverty of pocketbook and of spirit -- seems so synonomous with life itself, and the woman has forgotten what it's like to operate in the outside world. For all these fifteen years, say, she has stayed at home, tended to the kids, washed diapers, helped her husband fix cars, pieced together the family's existence out of the cast-offs of other people, hardly been outside her own house, except for the weekly trips to the grocery store and other sorts of routine matters -- doctors, hospitals, Court House on various sorts of business, an occasional teacher-parent conference at school. She has watched endless hours of TV, but has read very few books -- occasionally she may read the books her elementary or junior high children may bring home, has read a newspaper sporadically --- usually unable to follow the turns of current events, although following with great sympathy the human-interest stories. She has not, herself, engaged in any kind of home-study or adult education -- she never did get around to doing that high school equivalency test. So now, 15 or so years out of school, with her youngest child now starting school her oldest a teenager, and herself with a lifespan of maybe 40 years or more to spend, she feels unequipped to take on any other role than the one she has known all her semi-adult and adult life. She feels no real desire to train herself for a career, no confidence that she may really go on and accomplish something in life, now that she is becoming less constantly in demand at home. She may talk about going out to get a job, but it may be several years before she actually does any looking, and when she finally does, perhaps because a second income in the family is essential if the family is to get off the "family assistance" they get, or if it is to keep from having to ask for welfare in the first place, she starts looking at the bottom of the ladder of jobs -- unskilled, janitorial or factory work -- just a source of income. And for some women, within a year or two from the time when they get that first job since pre-children days, they find themselves pregnant again -- with a spacing of at least 6 years between the next youngest child and the new baby. Often, a second baby may follow -- "so that this one won't be an only child." Then, she is at home washing diapers for another few years -- thus delaying her entrance into the job world for another period. Perhaps by the time these last babies are old enough to go to school, thus freeing the mother, in theory, to go to work, the burden of so many children has completely exhausted her, and furthermore, she finds that the household can not really run without her being home all the time -- such a big family is a lot of work, and her health isn't what it used to be. In a few more years time, some of the older children will be getting off on their own, and perhaps the family will be better off financially, with fewer mouths to feed. Before she knows it, this woman is a grandmother, and may find herself doing babysitting so that her daughter may to out and work. Thus, this woman becomes one of many older, untrained women who is not easy to place in a job, even if she wants one, and who is not the kind of candidate generally chosen for job training. Such a portrait is typical of several of the women in this study.

Another typical portrait has many of the same features as this, but the woman does manage to work through and between the years of child-bearing and child-rearing, or, as is more typical, up until the second baby, then again after all the children are in school. She may then work steadily until retirement. On the face of it, this may seem a very different situation, but from the families observed in this study, it appears that the pattern is not so very different. Work is seen by the woman worker as a necessity because the family income is insufficient for the family needs. Perhaps the husband has to pay support payments for his children by his first marriage, or the woman's first husband fails to make support payments to her for his children by her. Perhaps her husband is periodically unemployed, or mostly unemployed. Or perhaps her husband isn't around much or doesn't make enough money or doesn't give his wife enough of his earnings to support the family. Perhaps at this stage in life she realizes that she might as well accept her husband's failure as a provider, This wife will go out to work with a rather fierce determination, taxing her strength to keep going at the job and still cope with all the housework. She works in menial jobs, may change from one type of janitorial work to another, or may work quite steadily in a factory job. She may derive some pride from the fact that no matter what the ups and downs of her husband have been, she has been able to "keep the family together with food on the table." This is the satisfaction which having a job gives her -- not any satisfaction intrinsic to the job itself.

These two prototype women do not vastly differ from each other -- the circumstances of family finances and marital relationships are probably the biggest differentiating factors which in turn give rise to whether or not the women have gone out to get and to keep jobs, whether they are non-workers or sporadic or steady workers (workhorses). Both of these women may have been forced at one or several times in their lives to turn to welfare as a solution to their financial plight -- neither have found it a particularly easy or satisfactory solution, both have gotten off of it as soon as they could, perhaps too soon in both cases. Probably neither of these prototype women manages to see her family rise much above the poverty level -- it seems that whether or not she has a job does not make much difference -- the family is in a rut and never able to rise above it, and their ambitions for ever obtaining more than minimal amenities in life have long-since drowned in a sea of disappointments. Either a job or the welfare -- both are seen as necessary measures, hopefully temporary in both cases -- for making ends meet, for tiding the family over till things get better. But somehow these people do not really expect that things will get better for them -- perhaps for their children life will be better, they hope. In fact, things rarely do get better for them -- their expectations prove to be realistic. And in the case of their children, although some children may end up better off, others may end up next door. For at least a good part of the population, the frustration and disappointment is bequeathed to the children as a limiting, even crippling legacy in cyclic generation-to-generation poverty. The problem of low self-esteem is apt to result in low job expectations and a real readiness to quit when the first thing goes wrong -- a kid in trouble at school, a marital problem, or a job dissatisfaction. And in a self-fulfilling way, the defeated woman lands back on welfare and/or in poverty. Counselling at this stage, when she gets started or restarted in the job world, could be greatly beneficial in increasing the woman's chances of remaining with a job for a much longer period of time.

2. Transportation

Because Road-Junction is located at least 15 miles from the nearest source of jobs, transportation is a real problem. If the family doesn't possess a car for each working member in the family, the wife has to go and return when her husband does, or get rides with a neighbor, relative or friend. Having two dependable cars in one family is unlikely -- having and keeping one dependable car is hard enough. In some families the husband drives a truck belonging to his place of work, and uses it for his own transportation to and from work, thus the transportation problem is eased, as the wife can use the family car. Another problem is that quite a few women don't or can't drive, even if a car were available. (Those who do drive seem to enjoy driving, drive a lot and know the workings and repairings of their cars, but some women have never learned to drive. One woman of middle age said she'd be scared to death to get behind the wheel and in fact she hates driving with anybody else, except one sister-in-law.) Thus, a woman who can't drive or doesn't have a car for her own use must get to work with her husband or someone else. However this solution may be difficult because the hours might not be the same at all. The husband might work on the highway crew, for instance, and have to leave home very early -- or might suddenly be changed to night shift. If a man has unsteady employment or changes jobs, this could disrupt his wife's transportation to work. Furthermore, people are reluctant to depend on others -- neighbors, relatives, friends -- for transportation because they feel these people may not be reliable or because they don't like to feel they are dependent on or indebted to their neighbors -- a reflection of the poor quality of social relationships. And, of course, transportation to work is expensive. Certainly a woman who goes alone in her car to work spends at least $3.00 per day round trip. If she rides with a neighbor, she may pay for the gas, or a flat rate of $2.00. However, some women have no particular problem in getting to and from work, or they manage to overcome the transportation problems: for one couple who both work the same shift in the same factory, there is no problem. One woman (elderly) worked 18 years at the same job, riding with various neighbors near and far -- for years she rode to the city with a neighbor, then waited on a corner for a co-worker to pick her up and take her on the second leg of the trip to her place of work.

3. Problems of child care

Problems of child care present another whole series of difficulties preventing women from working or making it hard for those who do work -- although these are not mentioned as often by the non-working mother as problems of transportation and other sorts of problems when she talks of why she doesn't work. The problems which do arise, however, depend on the ages of the children. so do the solutions.

For babies and preschoolers, none of the working women with children of this age uses day care centers. For the mothers of Road-Junction, day care centers are an institution they know little or nothing about, and even if they did, the existing centers are very few, very far away, and very expensive. The idea of dealing with outsiders on a business basis for care of their children is foreign to these women, and they resist the idea of putting their children in "institutions." They express a strong preference for home care. Although almost no one has or has had a sitter come to the house (because of high cost) they take their children to someone else's house -- a grandparent, a neighbor, a friend. A few use sitters with a purely business connection (i.e., the sitter is not a friend, neighbor or relative), but this is not common, and not preferred. A paid sitter is usually a friend or neighbor who takes in children to help make ends meet. In all these cases, the sitter is apt to be someone the child has known before a permanent babysitting arrangement was set up, someone who has visited often in the child's house, and whose house the child and his family is apt to visit, even after the babysitting tie is discontinued. A grandmother, or an aunt, or an older married sister provides a babysitting situation which is much more a part of the child's social world, familiar to him. The child may have been left for short periods with such a person even when his mother wasn't working, and so the babysitting arrangement becomes an extension of already existing social relationships. However, the kind of social interrelationships and the adjustments to poverty living which characterize Road-Junction make it difficult in some cases to turn to such a relative or neighbor as a regular sitter. Mothers may feel it's all right to leave small children with a neighbor or relative on an occasional basis, but they may be uncomfortable about using such people as regular sitters because they do not consider these people dependable. A mother worries that the children will not get sufficient attention or food, or will suffer bad influences from other people in the sitter's household, people who hang around the house, or, more commonly, that such a relative or friend might suddenly decide not to sit any more, thus leaving the working mother in the lurch.

For young school age children, there are problems of what to do with the children between the time the mother goes to work and the children go to school, between the time the children return from school and the mother gets home from work, and on all the occasions when there is no school. Although the children go to school quite early (bus comes before 7:30) the mother may have to leave much earlier, especially if she rides to work with a husband who must leave by 6 or 6:30. Some children are left home to get themselves up, dressed and fed. In one family with 3 children at home (ages 12, 8, 7) where both parents left by 6, the children frequently missed the school bus, rarely ate before leaving home, and obviously neglected the tooth-brushing, washing, etc. before school. In some families the children arise with the parents and get taken to a sitter's house, where they catch the bus. After school, similarly, some children fend for themselves, others, especially younger ones, go by bus to a paid sitter's house or to a grandparent or other non-paid sitter, perhaps to join a preschooler who has been at the sitter all day. Problems are caused by half-day shifts of kindergarten, early school closings, school holidays on which the mother has to work, and vacations. Similarly, sickness of children is a problem -- usually handled by the regular babysitter or by leaving the child home alone if not too sick. During long school vacations many children go full time to a sitter, even if they are old enough to fend for himself during the school year -- and a child of 10 still refers to "my baby sitter".

These problems of making suitable arrangements for young children of working mothers are basically the same for Road=Junction families as for families anywhere. But the distance of this neighborhood from places where parents work may cause extra problems. Also, there are no supervised recreation opportunities close by where older children could go after school. Furthermore the geographic isolation from various emergency services -- a doctor or hospital, or the fire department, -- and the lack of telephones in some houses, the distance of some houses from a helpful neighbor, and the relatively high likelihood of fire (in tinder-dry houses with overheated kerosene space heaters and shaky electric wiring) or of accident, (with many old cars, car parts, tools, nails, open wells, half-finished or half-decayed buildings presenting potential danger for children) make women reluctant to leave their children home alone or even at the homes of some of their relatives and neighbors. In addition, some women feel that their children, particularly if there are several of them or if there would be a group of several children at a neighbor's, could not be trusted to stay out of trouble and danger. This reflects in part the kind of external discipline which characterizes many of these families: the children are viewed as having a high potential for getting into trouble unless an adult is quick to yell at them -- they tend not to have their own internalized discipline, thus need to be controlled by an adult. The mother's concerns along this line are not unfounded. Even in households where the mother does not work, there may be a high incidence of accidents or injuries to children. And, given the poor quality of social interaction within the neighborhood, plus the avoidance of "institutional" day care centers, the daytime supervision which is necessary is not readily available.

Thus, the problems of providing adequate supervision for school age children, even junior high school age, when they are not in school, in addition to the necessities of finding someone to care for preschool children make it hard or impossible for some women of this rural area to work. Other women have clearly expressed that they feel it is important for them to be home when their children get home from school: "That's the only time that I can devote just to the children, and they need me then, to show me their school work, to tell me what happened in school or on the bus". With children coming home from elementary school before 2:30, this would preclude the mother's taking a full time job except at night. Half time jobs at their levels of skill are nearly impossible to find, and "all that travelling just to work half a day would eat up all the money I'd earn -- forget it." If a grandparent is available (home always anyway because she's elderly and doesn't work or drive) or if a husband is unemployed, then a convenient arrangement can be made, but in many cases, the child care is a real deterrent to work, no less so when the babies grow up to be school children.

4. Difficulty of doing a lot of housework on minimal income and with substandard equipment

Many women of poverty families, particularly during the years they have young children at home (babies and on up through the teens) find that all their time and energy is taken up keeping up with the housework. It appears that they have more work to do around the house and it takes them longer to do it then middle class women -- and they do not often find unfilled time on their hands even when all children are in school. Some of this may be poor time management, but this seems to be only a small part of the problem. Large size of the family is another factor. The 25 households here considered have an average of only 2.5 children at home, but this low average is due partly to the number of households with children already grown up. Of the families with children at home, the average number of children home is 3.1, with some families having 4, 5, and up to 8 children at home. Thus, the amount of housework necessary tends to be rather large -- a lot of laundry to do, a lot of picking up, a lot of meal preparation and clean-up. However, in addition to having a lot of housework necessitated by a lot of people in the household, there is the important fact that these homes are poverty homes: the pattern of living carried on as an adjustment to poverty is a major factor which makes it harder for these women to be able to spare time or energy to devote to a job.

There are many ways in which the low standard of living requires more housework time and effort of the woman. Cooking, meal-planning and shopping for food all take more time if the housewife can only buy small amounts of food at a time due to lack of sufficient cash at any one time (though Food Stamps help overcome this problem) and due to lack of storage and refrigator space. A housewife will try to get by as long as she can on what is available in the house, but may have to make several extra trips to a store with small amounts of money to pick up items as needed. She may also have to make more meals than a middle class wife -- sandwich lunches for her husband and for the school children because they cannot afford to buy lunch (free school lunches help) -- this requires time in the evening or early morning, and perhaps extra trips to the store for bread. Similarly, in other household purchases, the wife will get by as long as possible doing without an item (e.g., boots for children) then finally make a separate trip or several separate trips to purchase these things when money permits. Many tasks in housework take more of the woman's time not only because there is a lot to do, but also because the equipment with which she does these chores is substandard. For example, having to do a lot of laundry by heating the water on the stove, even drawing the water from an outdoor source, doing it in an old wringer washer, and hanging it up to dry may take large blocs of time. Even the laundromat solution is not much help, as this involves a big trip -- the nearest laundromat is about 4 miles away, but many women don't patronize this one because of difficult relationships with the proprietor, and so must go over 15 miles away -- often taking 10 or more machine loads at a time. Many women do not cut the corners in housework that a middle class mother might -- for example, their children may wear clean clothes to school more often than affluent children "it's patched and faded, but at least it's clean" -- these people are sensitive to criticism of the uncleanliness of their children. In a similar way, the cooking may take more time without adequate appliances and kitchen aids. And water may have to be hauled in from outdoors, or from a good spring source 4 miles away, to be used for cooking and drinking. The cleaning of the house, also, is difficult: the clutter of stuff -- clothes, laundry, car parts, etc. -- in the house, due to lack of closet space and other storage facilities requires the housewife to spend a lot of time just picking up. Then she attempts to clean the cleared-off surfaces -- floors of bare, rough wood or cement or linoleum with holes and patches -- with inadequate tools, usually no vacuum cleaner. She may also have to tend to the heating system -- fetching kerosene, filling the heater, tinkering with it.

All this takes much time and energy from these housewives in poverty. With a paid job it is possible that the woman could improve her housekeeping situation, buy more and better labor-saving devices and lighten her household jobs. But the improvements are very costly and couldn't be made right away, and she may have little faith they will ever get made, as payments on a land contract for the house, paying off a debt, getting a better car, being able to buy sufficient groceries and clothes, -- all these will come first. So at least for a while, she will clearly be overburdened by a large amount of hard housework to be squeezed in around a job. Clearly this is a deterrent to some women's taking jobs. Furthermore, some women appear so bogged down in this type of poverty housekeeping that they can't really envision what life would be like if they had all the improvements and labor-saving devices which they might eventually be able to earn.

5. Other demands on a woman's time

There are other areas besides housework in which the poverty level of living puts more demands on the woman's time and energy. Particularly if the woman drives and has a car to use, but even if she must ride with neighbors, she spends a lot of time running around on errands -- with the round trip to the place where most errands must be done taking nearly an hour. She may have to go buy Food Stamps (two trips to the city per month), go see "the Welfare", to see a caseworker or probation officer or judge concerning legal problems of a child. She has to go pick up car parts for the cars her husband is fixing, or to go change the registration and insurance over to the current "new" car. She needs to go to rummage sales to get clothes, to travel 15 miles to arrange in person to have her telephone hooked up (after it was disconnected due to non-payment of bills), to go to pay installments on a back bill at a doctor's, to go get kerosene, and of course to "go for groceries." She may have to take children to doctors more than middle class mothers, for in addition to the usual sicknesses there is a high incidence of serious illnesses or conditions requiring several visits to specialists, and a high incidence of accidents and infections therefrom. All of this running around on errands is a pattern of life, caused by the conditions of day to day living (e.g., some bills may be paid in person because the family doesn't have or doesn't really use a checking account). Much of this coming and going could be alleviated if the family had a higher income due to the woman's working (e.g., trips to see The Welfare, to buy Food Stamps, etc.), but the pattern is so ingrained that a woman thinking about the possibility of a job can't see how she could manage to get all those other things taken care of if she had a full time job.

6. Problems of health

A whole range of health problems - of children, of husband, of wife - may also act to deter a woman from working. Adults may neglect going to a doctor. "It's all right for the kids, I suppose, but for us, forget it. If you go and find out here's something wrong, the doctor tells you to come back 6 times or go for x-rays and special treatments -- well, how can we afford to do all that? And how could my husband miss all that work? So we just let whatever it is slide by." Many adults have partially disabling conditions -- resulting from inherited or early childhood conditions, from car and other accidents, lack of proper diet, alcoholism, etc. Also, their emotional and psychological burdens may keep them from feeling up to a job. When a woman is at home, she can adjust her pace, let her housework slide a few days -- and some women do regularly lay off because of not feeling quite right - but with a job she couldn't do this. When illnesses and physical conditions are finally taken to a doctor, it is often not a straight-forward thing, easily diagnosed and promptly cured (for example, one woman's heart condition, aggravated by family strife and living conditions, or an old intestinal problem never properly looked after, or a child whose condition the doctor cannot readily diagnose but must watch over a period of a year or more). While sickness is not a preoccupation in most of these families, there are many lingering health problems of all family members, including the housewife (who may describe herself as suffering from nerves) which tend to sap the strength of the individuals and make the women (or husbands) less able to commit themselves to full time jobs.

7. Husbands views, habits and abilities

A deterrent to working for many women is that their husbands want them to stay home. There are various reasons why husbands want their wives at home. A working man may need his wife as an errand runner to accomplish the various little transactions which he can't get done during the day (pay a tax bill in person, register a car, pick up building materials, etc.) or he may be reluctant to have to take her to the grocery store or laundromat in the evening if she is working in the daytime. A husband may feel it is important to the children to have their mother at home -- several husbands have voiced this opinion; in at least one case it is a reflection of the man remembering his own childhood in which his mother worked and eventually deserted the family, and he was mostly raised by grandmother. To a considerable extent, the husband's desire for his wife to stay at home reflects a lack of trust in his wife -- he doesn't want her mixing with the wrong types of people, getting too free and easy with other men. One man clearly sensed his wife's desire for excitement and social interaction that a job would bring to relieve her cooped-up boredom at home with small children, and he doesn't want to risk her becoming too free to be with other men. In this case, the wife's easy conviviality with men as well as women, her readiness for teasing, her fun-loving spirit and her free talk of sex might be real factors underlying the husband's position. An important factor operating in many of these families to give rise to the husband's disapproval of his wife working is the general weakness or low self-esteem or lack of success which characterizes many of these men. For some, it is a blow to the pride to admit that the wife has to go out to work because the husband is an insufficient provider. Furthermore, he may not want to be in a position where his wife is doing better on a job or earning more money than he is -- and managing the household too. And if the wife becomes financially self-supporting, the notion of independence may go to her head -- she might realize that she could do better on her own, without her husband. In some families where marital relations are strained, the wife's economic dependence on the husband is the strongest tie that keeps her from leaving him -- and he may be loathe to dispense with this safeguard. Some husbands obviously and verbally waver between wishing their wives would take jobs to relieve the financial stress of the family, and desiring to have their wives at home where they are not as apt to get into trouble and where they are dependent on their husbands. A wife may put up with a good deal of trouble and shortcomings from her husband if she and her children are financially dependent on him. The phrase "he keeps his wife barefoot and pregnant" is sometimes used. A woman whose husband is so suspicious of her activities that he needs to ask exactly who came to the house today (whose tire tracks in the driveway?) so suspicious that when the utility company men come to do rewiring nearby, the wife locks the front door and stays inside all day -- to avoid giving her husband any grounds for accusations -- such a woman may feel that a job in the outside world would be an impossible thing for her husband to allow and too much of a strain on their relationship. In most of these cases the husband's suspicion of his wife's possibile interaction with other men, there is or has been some real ground for his suspicion, though he may greatly exaggerate it. And in cases where the wife senses that the husband's pride would be wounded if she were to take a job, the facts usually show a husband with a low estimation of himself and his abilities to provide for the family. In one case, the wife feels that her husband needs as much attention, praising, coddling -- and nagging -- as her school age children -- she feels that she has her hands full taking care of several school age children and a "husband who needs as much care as the kids".

However, not all husbands have these feelings about their wives working, and some are willing or even glad to have help in making ends meet. But for several of the families, the husband's feelings are clearly very important in deterring the women from working.

8. The low level of jobs which are available to these women

Although some of these women deliberately do not seek the better jobs because they don't feel they belong at that level, and indeed many women are seriously underqualified for good jobs ("good" in the sense of status, pay, type of work), some women may not attempt to work because of the menial nature, the drudgery, the boredom, the stamina required on the kinds of jobs open to them. There is no tendency to view a job as part of a long-term plan of a career sequence, and little hope of rising through the ranks to better jobs. Many women "know" or hope that they will soon again be pregnant. In many cases, family planning isn't practiced, and the wife may not want to abandon her role as a bearer and rearer of babies, as it is one role she can successfully fulfill. Or perhaps a woman forsees some other reason why she will not be able to work for a very long period at a time. So, she tends to feel it isn't worth the effort just for a short time -- unless the money is really badly needed and the desire purchases or improvements could be made within a forseeable period of time. This aspect, women's attitudes towards their jobs, has been discussed in the previous section. It is mentioned here also because these attitudes may also be deterrents to work for some women.

Women Who Are Not Now Working but Want to Work

At present, there are 4 women, out of the 25, now "looking for a job" in some active manner, one other says she wants a job but would prefer not to have a full time job until her children are further along in school, so she's waiting for a half-time job to fall into her lap, and one other, who says, "I want to get a job" but is not actively looking, partly because her husband does not like the idea. All of the 4 women actively looking for a job, plus the two who have expressed desires or plans to go to work soon have worked before, some steadily for up to 11 years at a single job, others sporadically at various jobs. The reasons they are not presently working include: doctor's orders to quit job after a miscarriage, then along came the next baby; automobile accident 4 years ago resulting in injury, with the doctor only now releasing her for work; fired (with some questions of personality conflicts and racial problems, rather than job performance, cited by the woman as the reason); and closing down of the factory where one woman worked. Of the group, all except one have husbands who are currently employed and have been employed steadily for anywhere from 1 to 15 years. (The one exception lives alone, separated from her husband.) These women who want to go to work are, then, women who have worked before, women (with 1 exception) who have working husbands, and who are all in low income households. In contrast are 2 other women who have not expressed any desire to take a job: these are also of low income families, and have been on Welfare sporadically or steadily, and whose husbands are working sporadically or not at all. The reasons they mention for not wanting to take jobs include "I have to be home to keep these kids (teenage school dropouts) in line and to watch out for my grandchild" (child of one of the teenagers), and "We don't have a car, I can't drive, and I'm scared riding with anyone."

The four women who are now actively seeking jobs have gone through various channels: signed up with Employment Service (the State Employment Service located in the city -- "but I signed up nearly a year ago, and they haven't called me yet"), read ads in the newspaper, telephoned various possible places, asked relatives or friends if they knew of any openings. The latter appears to be the most important way of finding jobs. One woman has been looking for a job for 6 months, and blames racial prejudice (both her marriages have been with Negroes); the others have only just began to look. They know jobs are hard to find. The two others who say they'd like to work soon have not really explored the employment situation, but they hear from others that jobs are scarce, and this knowledge may have the effect of making them feel "why try?". None of the women looking for or considering work has emphasized what arrangements they will make for their children, none has termed this a major problem -- "just let me get a job -- the kids we can get taken care of fine".
Of the 6 women seeking or considering work:

1 has no young children

1 has several school age children -- youngest 9 -- she wants to work nights so she can put them to bed before she leaves for work, and her husband could then take care of them without any trouble

1 has 2 very small children, has a friend who already sits for a child and could take in these two

1 has a preschooler and others in school -- her oldest daughter is home with a baby, and could take care of the preschooler

1 who is not actively looking for a job has school age (elementary) children, would like to get half-time job for a few years so she can be home after school

1 who is not actively looking for a job has preschool and early school age children, might take them to a sitter, might work nights and have a sister-in-law sit for them when husband is on night shift all winter

Reasons These Women Give for Wanting to Work

The present financial squeeze in these families (husbands working but earning low income) resulting from the situation of the national and local economy is keenly felt. Husbands are losing their overtime benefits in many jobs, thus cutting down the family income with which to meet the rising cost of living and the previous financial commitments (such as payments on a trailer or house). Both the high cost of living -- "we just can't seem to get by on the same income we used to" -- and the husband's loss of overtime, or job cutbacks or impending layoffs have resulted in many of these families "hurting for money". "We just can't seem to get anywhere." "We were just scraping by -- we were even doing o.k., but now without overtime it seems like we always come out short." "My husband got a raise, but then they upped the insurance and cut out the overtime -- so we're right back where we were, except that the prices of food and things keep going up."

The desperate need for money in these times of inflation, and a rising gap between the husband's income and the family's needs are the main reasons why these women are now very anxious to get jobs. But the very factors which drive them to seek jobs also operate to make very few jobs available, -- and some women are getting discouraged and worried.

A second major reason why some of these women want jobs is that they want to get out of the house. A woman who has worked quite steadily despite many children, has been out of work 4 years due to injury, is now declared able to work again, though limited to non-strenuous jobs. She says:

> "I really have to get out and do something. I'm just going nuts here -- all alone all day with nothing to do. (All children in school or grown and moved away). I've even taken up crocheting. And I'm so disagreeable -- I take things out on the kids when really it's just that I get on my nerves all day. Right now I'd do anything, any work, even if it would be against the doctor's

> orders. As it is, I do all sorts of errands for my married daughter and other people -- just to occupy myself. I'm really raring to go -- it's been so long. I'll be so happy. Things seem to go much smoother when I'm working. I get along better with the kids, with myself too. And the housework -- why I can whip through this trailer in minutes if I have something else to do." (So far, she has not been able to turn up a job).

Another woman who lives without husband and whose teenagers have dropped out of school but no longer live at home, has worked steadily for over a decade at the same job, but since the plant closed, she has been out of work a couple of months. She says, "A friend gave me some puzzles, and puzzles are all right for a few weeks, but not for long. I miss those people I worked with -- we had fun down there." Another woman, with 3 preschool children and one in school says she feels cooped up, wants to get out. Her caged feelings have been increased greatly since her husband was put on night shift and he sleeps at home in the tiny trailer all day but doesn't want her going out and about while he sleeps.

Another set of reasons for wanting to go back to work could be classified as awareness of creeping defeat, a feeling the woman has that she herself and her family are not getting ahead in the world either financially or in other ways. A woman who has generally worked, and who has had many jobs wedged in between many babies, was fired half a year ago, and has been actively job hunting on and off ever since. She said the following.

> "I've got to get me a job. I can tell it's really time now for me to get working. I find myself beginning to give up, and then I know I really better get out and get a job -- something, anything, even volunteer if it has to be. The thing is, there's so much wanting doing around here but never any money to do it, so I can't get at any of the improvements and projects I want to do. So after a while I just give up. Why, this last Saturday I just stayed in bed all day. When that happens, I know I got to do something quick. I'm so dying to get a job -- I'll take anything. If I catch myself in time, keep myself from giving up altogether,, get a job so's I can be out doing something and getting some money for all the things we need -- then everything will be o.k."

In this case the sheer lack of money is also a big incentive to work -- this woman has at other times recently voiced the stark need to provide food for her table as the reason she must work. (She gets Food Stamps, though feels she is charged too much, and her daughter living at home with her baby gets a small amount from Welfare.) Her husband is a steady worker in a low-paying job, and must pay out support for the children of his previous marriage. The woman's previous husband sends only irregular and insufficient support payments for her children by him -- he is unemployed. So it is indeed hard to make ends meet. Furthermore, there are payments on a land contract on the house -- and these must be kept up or they'll lose the place, plus a septic system and other improvements to be made, and she says, "I don't care if my table is bare, I'm not defaulting on this house." So the sheer need for money is a major reason why this woman desperately wants a job, but she also needs the satisfaction of knowing that she's doing something to help her family, that she's working hard, and that she's sacrificing all she can that her family may live better. She also needs an outlet for her nervous energy -- she readily tackles long hard days of work, and as she herself said, when she notices herself doing nothing, she perceives this as a danger sign of giving up, and it frightens her.

Temporary targets appear to prompt several women into seeking jobs and to cause those who have jobs to continue working. To pay for a house or land contract, or to fix up the house or add on to it may be such major but temporary expenses. When the immediate goal has been met, the woman quits her job. Other people have longer-range goals in mind, like the woman who talks of wanting to help their young children when they want to go to college.

Many of the reasons for wanting to go to work as expressed by these 8 low-income women now considering or seeking employment are the same as the reasons working women of low income households give for holding a job. Certainly the money of it is paramount -- just to get above the day-to-day payday-to-payday existence. But whether they actually take and persist in jobs is dependent not only on financial need, but on the host of problems considered above.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have seen some of the forces and pressures operating on the women of such a rural poverty area, and have seen how they affect women's participation in the job world. The particular problems which these women may have in balancing a job and a housewife-mother role are shaped by the many facets (physical, social, psychological) of poverty living which shackle the families and neighborhoods described in the earlier chapters of this monograph. All of the generalizations presented in this chapter, dealing specifically with the question of women and work, rest on the background of the earlier chapters, for such dimensions as attitudes towards working and the ability to cope with job-plus-home are affected by so many of the more general factors of life in such a rural poor area.

In order to get a more concrete view of the issue of women and work in this kind of setting, we turn now to some case studies from the community. The first two will show specific women's work histories, but more than that, will indicate that it is difficult to determine to what extent the women's working is a benefit or a detriment to the family. Far more important than whether or not the wife-mother works are the overwhelming pressures of coping with life in a downtrodden family and neighborhood, pressures which, over the longer time, may cause real limitation of the potential of the next generation. A third case study will probe why one woman has not entered the labor force promptly when all her children reached school age. A sample or "typical" day in the life of this woman may reveal why, for her, taking a job is not a feasible way of improving the family's plight at this time.

Perhaps a single conclusion arises from the combination of the generalizations of the present chapter and the specifics of the case studies. The poverty of an area such as Road-Junction is not merely a lack of money. Increased income (gained from the wife's taking a job to supplement her husband's low or a sporadic income) is only part of the answer for these people. The defeatism of individuals, the weakness of family units, the decay of "community", and the poor articulation of these people with the dominant society are overriding and overwhelming problems. Such long-term problems cannot be bought off with extra incomes alone. However, it is also clear that without a lessening of the financial poverty, the children will be unable to escape the severe handicap of being the sons and daughters of Road-Junction. If employment of these women is to be one method of attacking the poverty described, then there must be some sort of program to help insure that women actually do get the kinds of jobs they are apt to want to keep, and that means are found to ease some of the problems and difficulties of working as they affect these women. The final chapter of this report will present some recommendations along these lines.

CHAPTER VIII

CASE STUDIES

TO BE SET AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNITY STUDY

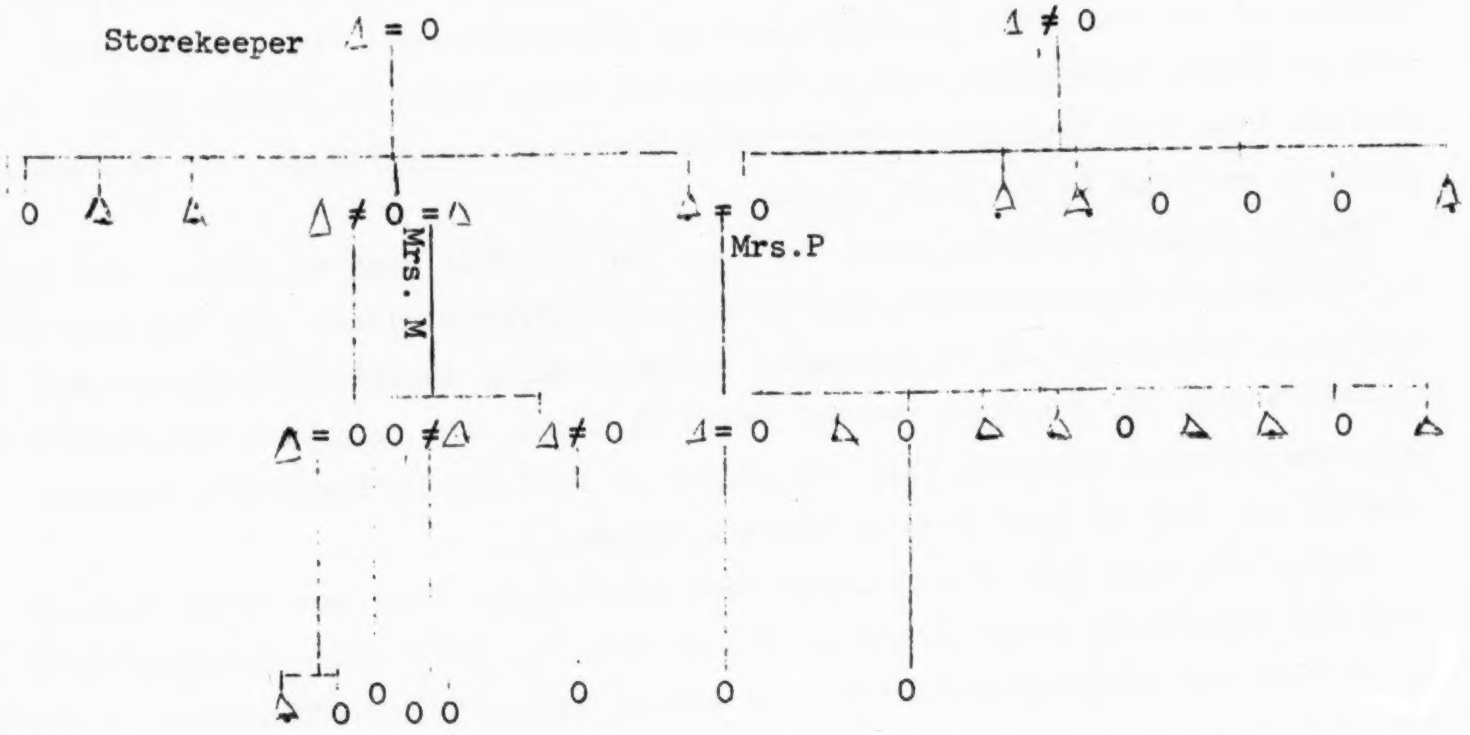
A Tale of Two Women

One working mother, Mrs. M, has all her children grown up, in the sense that they have all left the nest, have married and have children. The youngest is just 20, the older two are in their early and late 20's. Here is a case which is clearly in the category of working women, for this mother has worked quite steadily most of her life, including the times when her children were young and through their teenage years. In many ways, this case is a typical example of a Road-Junction family, and it will be described here in some detail because all the other data on the community can serve as a background, so that the factor of the woman's working may be set in perspective of the "community".

Mrs. M grew up in The Junction. She was one of several children born to the storekeeper and his wife. Her father's store was fairly successful, eventually buying out the other small store, and he and his wife had a good reputation in the small community as keeping a good store and being honest. Of the storekeeper's children, one had been institutionalized most of her life due to mental retardation. At the time Mrs. M was growing up, the Depression and the decline of farming and other factors were part of the downward growth of the little community, but the store survived, though not prosperous, and the community possessed an active church and its own one-room school. Mrs M grew up and married early, and had one child, a girl. This marriage ended early, and soon afterwards she remarried. Her new husband came from a large family on the edge of The Junction. Together they had two children, a girl and a boy.

Mrs. M's youngest brother also got married at this time, to a young girl from The Junction, a daughter of a poor family of many children with father absent. For a few years Mrs M and her second husband and small children shared a house (owned by her parents, the storekeepers) with her brother and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. P and their babies. The brother's wife (Mrs. P) says that Mrs. M was not a warm, close, affectionate mother for her young children, that the little girls "wandered around by themselves, always with matted hair". The two couples subsequently moved into separate houses across the street from each other in The Junction ---- then Mr. and Mrs. P spent a few years in other parts of the country.

Geneology of the families of Mrs. M and Mrs. P


Storekeeper
Mrs. M
Mrs.P

△ = male

0 = female

= = marriage

≠ = dissolved marriage

△ =0
|
△ = children of a marriage

0
|
△ = child outside marriage

Mrs. P. reports that when she came back, Mrs. M's children, now all in school, were somewhat bothersome -- the little boy was mean to neighborhood pets, the younger of the two girls was unpleasant and disrespectful. The two families were no longer very close, and in subsequent years harbored grudges which prevent them from having more than minimal contact, even though some of their children continue to see each other.

Mrs. M. started working about the time her children went to school, and has worked most of the time since then at several different jobs. She has been a cook in a restaurant and is currently working making dental appliances. Her husband's job, for the past several years at least, has been with the highway department (which suggests that his income is low) and he frequently assumes some of the work at home such as cooking dinner.

During the time Mrs. M's children were growing up, they were often left to fend for themselves after school --- though Mrs. P., (Mrs. M.'s sister-in-law) feels that the children would not have gotten much more attention even if their mother had been home. The youngest child, the boy, is reported by a same-age cousin to have been lonely -- "He just seemed to be all alone and in need of a mother, but she was never there with him." Often it was the father who would be found outdoors playing with his children or with the neighborhood children.

Now, Mrs. M. and her husband have seen each of their 3 children leave the nest. The oldest daughter married and has children and lives about 15 miles away. She has been working so that her husband could finish college and earn his M.A. Mrs. M.'s in-laws report "at least the oldest one's doing fine, thank goodness. She's got a good marriage and a good head on her shoulders." The second daughter has not fared so well. A highschool dropout, she was married in her mid teens to a man who had one child by a previous marriage. They settled in The Junction, as the husband was able to buy the vacant schoolhouse and convert it to a home. The girl had at least one child outside of the marriage, as well as two by her husband. The house was very badly kept, in terms of dirt, health and safety hazards. The children suffered physical brutality, insufficient diet, and most of all, lack of maternal affection. The marital relationship grew unbearable and the couple separated, with the husband taking the child of his previous union, and the girl taking the other three. He has since been involved with at least two other women, fathering several children. He is selling his house and has moved out of The Junction. His wife, the daughter of the M.'s, also moved away, and shortly all her children were taken away from her by the Welfare Department due to child neglect. She lives about 15 miles from The Junction, occasionally visits family and relatives, and makes threats to her aunt and cousin that their illegitimate babies will be taken away too.

The third of Mrs. M.'s children, the son, is just 20. At age 17 he got a girl pregnant and married her. She was 15 at the time, and lived in a small town 20 miles away, having been raised by a family friend after her mother died in an auto accident. She quit school when she found she was pregnant. They moved into a house next to his parents, the M.'s, which they rented. Then they moved several times, with their little girl, to nearby small towns. The boy finished high school, looked for jobs, took various work, then entered the community college -- but lost his part-time job. Dogged by lack of income and by marital difficulties, they have has a few short separations (she stayed with her husband's aunt, Mrs. P., across the road in The Junction), and have returned to live together with his parents, the M.'s as they have no money to pay rent anywhere. The young wife once attempted a program to finish her schooling, but quickly dropped out. She spends her days dragging her little girl (2 1/2 years old) around in the car, sitting at Mrs. P.'s house, or with her husband's cousins, the daughters of Mrs. P., hashing over her marital problems. Her husband likes college, feels trapped by his wife, whom he says he doesn't respect and can't love, and refuses to consult a marriage counsellor. The child lives a bewildering life, and maternal warmth seldom comes her way -- yellings, spankings, being pulled back from places she explores, having forbidden objects snatched away from her hands - and she in turn incessantly tries to grab little babies' bottles or toys from their hands.

Mr. and Mrs. M. have now had this tenuous family in their home for several weeks. Now, the daughter-in-law has just gone "down to the Welfare" to see what they would allow her so she could take her little girl and go live by herself. A tentative decision has been made to separate. Mr. M. is reported to be broken-hearted about the problems of his son's marriage; Mrs. M. is said to sympathize with her daughter-in-law somewhat because her son is beginning to run around with other women a bit, but Mrs. M. tries to remain aloof from it all, as she occupies herself with her job.

This case study is perhaps perplexing, as it leaves unanswered the question of whether these growing children would have been better off if their mother had not been working. Since she appears to have been a somewhat cold and uncaring mother, perhaps it would have been even worse if she had not worked. Also, what share in the children's problems is attributable not to the mother or her working but to other factors in the rural poverty life of this neighborhood? It is interesting to point out that while this mother worked quite steadily at her job and routinely side-stepped a nurturing motherly rold, her husband was often a playmate for the children and a cooker of dinner. His low-skill job and low income may have been what forced his wife to work, but also some slight modification of the usual male-female roles and division of labor was perhaps suited to their particular temperaments.

The story of Mrs. P., the sister-in-law of Mrs. M. (Mrs. M.'s brother's wife) is quite different. Mrs. P. is a warm, affectionate person, with a welcoming lap and bubbly baby talk for her little ones. She grew up over the back side of a hill from The Junction. Her father deserted a large family, and real poverty, even hunger haunted the family. "I can remember my mother in tears when there was no more food in the house." One brother was mentally retarded, the other brothers have made out all right. Some of Mrs. P.'s sisters have succeeded in life, but others live a bogged-down life of marital problems and alcoholism. Mrs. P. is very proud of the fact that, through sheer determination, she finished high school. Soon afterwards she married Mr. P. -- youngest son of the storekeeper, who had dropped out of school. They had five children in eight years, while living with the M's and then by themselves in The Junction, then elsewhere in the U.S. On returning to The Junction they built a house for themselves. But the marriage was a stormy one indeed, and Mrs. P. found herself back in The Junction with her husband deserting her and their five young children to care for. She went to work -- in fact, took two jobs -- "I had to - I had five mouths to feed." She and her brother's wife (since divorced) pooled babysitting for each other. Hunger and hard times continued. Mrs. P. felt she was treated badly by everyone, felt defeated and lost all respect for herself, eventually becoming involved with another man, and bore a child by him and quit work. Eventually she and her husband rejoined. The husband's lack of a steady job kept them in poverty, and they were forced to sell the house they had built and move into Mr. P's parents' house behind the store.

Then two more children were born, two years apart, while marital battles alternated with periods of harmony. Mr. P. gave up trying to run his parents' store, and as they retired, he converted it to a bar, then after several years found that he was losing money on it, as well as causing real neighborhood ill-will. Then, when the youngest child was 5 years old, two more babies were born. The family was forced to move out of the family house which the parents, (retired add moved away) had let them use rent-free, because Mr. P.'s brother had now bought up the place for back taxes. The brother also bought up the former store, which he converted into a home for the P's, with a high rent attached. Mr. P., jobless and in debt, applied for Welfare help and also for job training, and the family is now squeaking by. But he is not happy at his job; and their high costs -- rent over $150. -- will keep them on welfare for a long time, they fear. This demoralizes them, and the wife expresses shame and defeat about it. Mrs. P. has mentioned that she might go back to work "to help out" as soon as "the babies" are in school, but it is likely that her physical strength isn't up to it -- worn out by many pregnancies and constant worry and crises, and hampered by various "conditions", some connected with a serious car accident, she is also emotionally broken down, and has been somewhat hiding from the world since the birth of her out-of-wedlock child -- she has more or less pledged herself to stay at home and not mix with the big, bad world; just to tend to her home and her children and hope that she will be forgiven for her past errors.

What of the children of Mr. and Mrs. P.? Mostly they are warm and friendly like their parents. The oldest two are likely to have modest success in life -- they struggle hard, aware that it is necessary if they are to avoid the problems their parents had. One is on scholarship in college. The girl quit school to get married, but with her young husband and baby, she is determined to make a better life for herself. Neither wants to be bogged down with too many children and insufficient money, and though things don't come easily for them, they will probably make out all right. The next child, a daughter, has a less promising future. At seventeen years of age, she has a half-year old baby, has worked for short periods of time at various jobs since quitting school after 10th grade. This girl suffers from various emotional problems, which have not, contrary to the expectations of herself and her parents, solved themselves by the birth of her baby -- it was felt that perhaps this baby would make her grow up, give her something to care about and be responsible for, give her something to live for. In the years since she quit school, this girl has lived at home for part of the time, but has also lived in various apartments and with various people. Currently supported by Welfare, she is living by herself (with the baby), and has not taken a very positive attitude towards getting a job or obtaining training for a job -- she has virtually no skills and very little meaningful job experience.

The subsequent children in the family are too young for predictions about their futures to be clear (thankfully), but for at least some of them, there are undoubtedly problems ahead, if present school behavior is any indication. The youngest members of the family are still mostly unaware of the morass of problems which keeps this family down, as their mother shields them with affection, but if the next older ones are indicative, a child in that family can't get much beyond five without being pretty well aware of the constant problems and frequent crises which plague them.

As in the case of Mrs. M., the case of Mrs. P. does not clearly indicate any influence of mothers' working on the family, but rather shows how various circumstances and predelictions tend to make the mother work or not work. Again, this case is discussed so as to present the interworking of a number of causes and problems and their effects on the family and its development.

Case Study of a Woman Who Might Have Gone to Work

Mrs. S. is a woman of 33 years, who lives with her husband and five young children in one of the more substandard houses of Road-Junction. Perennially short of money, despite her husband's steady job for the last several years, Mrs. S. has gone back to Welfare for financial assistance. Now that all her children are in school, the question arises why she sought Welfare help rather than getting a job. A closer look into the case of Mrs. S. seen against the background of the preceeding ethnographic study of Road-Junction, may reveal some answers to the whole series of questions concerning why low-income women do or do not work. We shall see how the feelings, roles and patterns of daily life in this rural poverty community come to bear on a woman's decisions, actions or inactions concerning employment.

Although Mrs. S. has some emotional problems and has to fight a vigilant battle against alcoholism, she is really the strongest member of the household.

Her husband has deeper, more severe emotional problems, his defeat of alcoholism is less sure, and he has periodic bouts of depression and defeatism which usually involve marital fights, sometimes violent, and occasional brief departures of either husband or wife. Neither Mr. S., who grew up in Road-Junction, nor his wife, who came from elsewhere, themselves grew up in a stable home, both were in foster homes and shifted for themselves for periods in their youth. Their married life together has been fraught with problems, and often Mrs. S. makes up her mind to leave for good -- but over the years she has never really given up trying to stick it out in hopes of improvement.

Mrs. S.'s years of child-bearing and of having babies or pre-school children in the house extended over about 12 years. During that time, she didn't work outside the home, and her husband shifted from one low-paying job to another, and poverty really gripped them, as the family grew to five children in six years. When the youngest child was three years old and in pre-kindergarten, Mrs. S. was hired as a part-time helper in that program, and she enjoyed the work with children and felt quite at ease with the staff -- as long as she was working with the children. (She does tell of feeling awkward once when there was a teachers' luncheon at school, and she begged to remain with the children because she didn't feel sure enough of her clothes or her manners to go to the luncheon.) Mrs. S. was pleased to work most of the year in this program, which involved only the hours when her youngest child was in school and the other children were also in school. For transportation, she often rode the bus. After that year, however, there was no money or position for her in the school, so she could not continue there.

While her youngest was still in pre-school (2nd year) Mrs. S. took a job at a small factory, but her commitment to it was low, and she often told her husband she was thinking of quitting. To get to the job, she had to get up very early in the morning, take her children to her husband's brother's wife, who also cared for them for a short while after school until she got home. Mrs. S. was uneasy about this, as she feared the children would not be well cared for -- people at that house had a reputation for drinking and rough behavior. After a few months, Mrs. S., really did quit, prompted by the fact that she and her husband got into a violent fight while drunk, and she was physically unable to go to work, so she quit.

The next school year, the pre-kindergarten staff made an opening for her in another pre-k program at a school in the city. Mrs. S. took the job, but kept it only two weeks. Primarily, she said that the job hours were not good because she got home an hour after her children returned from their school, and again, she didn't like to rely on her sister-in-law to baby sit. However, an additional reason for quitting was that she didn't feel accepted at that other school. She felt the staff looked down on her, and she was uncomfortable. After she quit that job, she volunteered to help out three times a week in the kindergarten of her youngest child at the local school. She said that she was lonely at home and that she liked working with the children -- which was obvious in her calm rapport with them as she worked individually with some children. It is noticeable, also, that she preferred to stick to the kind of job where she could be near her own children. But after a few weeks she petered out on this volunteer job. She had hoped that her volunteering would be a foot in the door towards getting a paid job as a kindergarten aide either that year or the following year. When she found that no money would be available to hire her, she stopped her volunteer work there, as she felt it was not leading to what she wanted. For the rest of that year, she remained at home, with no further attempts at work. The kindergarten schedule of her youngest precluded normal job hours. Severe family upheavals took place, but were eventually smoothed over.

The following year, even her youngest child was in school all day, but Mrs. S. made no move to get a job. She explained emphatically, "I got my job right here, full time --- taking care of all these kids, plus a husband who is like another kid." One reason why Mrs. S. doesn't consider work is that the hours she is free of children do not correspond to normal full-time job hours. Only a part time or night shift job would be possible if she is to be home when her children come home from school. She feels that they need her full attention when they come home.

> "When I hear the school bus coming, I sit right down in this chair and they all rush in with their school papers, and I just pray I remember to look at them all. . . . They need me here. J. isn't doing well in her reading, and T. needs watching for his homework, and P. is having trouble with his reading -- he's in 3rd grade but still in a primer."

Mrs. S. doesn't feel that she could trust anyone else in the neighborhood to watch her children after school. This is a realistic assessment, for the neighborhood mothers would not be sufficiently reliable, and even if they were, they probably wouldn't want to take on the handful that Mrs. S.'s bouncy children represent. Mrs. S. says that maybe in a few years her children will be old enough so that they can take care of themselves. (This is debatable -- the oldest would be very reliable, but some of the younger ones are in need of constant watching and controlling, and there is already friction between some of the children which would be aggravated by putting some in authority over others, and furthermore, the potential hazards around the house and yard are a real worry.)

There are other reasons, too, why Mrs. S. has not felt she could take a job. The demands on her time are great -- she is not only the nurturer of children and emotional supporter of husband, the cook, shopper, housecleaner, etc., but she is the family errand-runner, making numerous trips to the City to pick up car parts, register or transfer insurance on a car, buy materials for fixing the house, buying Food Stamps or seeing The Welfare. And her housecleaning and laundry jobs take up a great deal of time, so that she does not feel that she could have time for a job. Certainly, the way her life is presently organized, a full-time job appears impossible.

Another reason why Mrs. S. is tied to family demands is the fact that she has to spend time week after week looking after the academic or health problems of her children. She makes numerous visits and phone calls to the school -- to discuss a child's progress, to protest a child's being put in remedial class, to accompany a child who is reluctant to go to school. In terms of health and medical needs, there is almost always some problem which needs tending to, or which, even if left alone, is a drag on the mother -- children home from school, or herself or her husband "not feeling good." A listing of the family's various ills over the last 10 month period may be illuminating.

Mrs. S. then Mr. S. underwent successive periods of treatment at alcoholism hospitals

one child had an unexplained hip difficulty, necessitating several doctor visits and his being in a brace for a few months

one child's arm was severely injured in a wringer washer, with subsequent infection and numerous doctor visits

one child was severely anemic again, doctor visits
one child has had rectal bleeding intermittently -- more doctor visits
in addition, the usual colds, ear infections, etc., so that hardly a week goes by without one child having some complaint
then Mrs. S. broke her arm.

It appears that Mrs. S. is also reluctant to work because she knows her husband doesn't trust her. His jealous suspicions prompt him to phone her periodically during the day, and to ask her for a daily accounting of where she's been and who she has seen. His suspicions are grounded in real past actions, but magnified and elaborated, and he continues to haunt her with her past.

Generally, the unpredictability of daily life, the touch-and-go nature of the marital relationship, the emotional exhaustion of having to be prepared always for a blow-up, the insecurity of it all, combined with the lifetime of goals unmet, hopes unfulfilled -- all combine to make this woman live one day at a time, and make her reluctant to commit herself to a job or to training for a job.

> "No, I'm not thinking about working now. I can hardly keep up with what I've got now. How could I work too? In a few years maybe I'll think about working. Besides, right now there aren't any jobs anyway."

As a stopgap measure, Mrs. S. obtained Welfare help because she couldn't count on her husband to be home and provide the money, and because even with his money, they couldn't make ends meet. She doesn't like to be on Welfare, and her husband does not like to admit that they are getting this help. In the past, they have received Welfare help at several different times when they could not make it on their own or when the husband was not at home or not providing for family support. At these times, and in other dealings with the Welfare Department (as when children have had to be placed temporarily in foster homes due to family upheavals) Mr. and Mrs. S. have found that being on Welfare is unpleasant, demoralizing and destructive of what little confidence in themselves they may manage to have; that having a caseworker come to the house, having decisions be made by the Welfare Department, and losing their own rights to make their own decisions makes them feel even less able to cope. And they resent the fact that most people in the neighborhood seem to know who is on welfare and how much they are getting. Currently, neighbors are buzzing with rumors — they ask how come the S.'s can get so much money from Welfare when Mr. S. must be earning thus-and-so. For the time being, however, Mr. and Mrs. S. are taking advantage of the Welfare help to improve their home and to eat better (through Food Stamps and wise buying) now that their money supply is not at the bare minimum or insufficient level for week-to-week living. And they are both beginning to set higher goals for themselves. They talk of a much-improved home and other things they want, including college education for their boys. When things are going well between them, Mr. and Mrs. S. think about their future and make such plans. Mr. S. recently announced to his whole family that maybe next year Mrs. S. would be getting a job to help pay for some of the things the family wants. Mrs. S. was pleased to have her husband decide this, as it means, she said, that he now feels he can begin to trust her outside the home.

> "My husband and I were talking. . . Before too long we'll have the house done, so it should be a good place to live in. And the kids are getting older and we got to think about the future. . . With all the kids in school all day now, I could get a job and we could start saving. As it is now, we're kind of stuck. We just make it by. Like, we just keep up with the bills. I just got a new drum of kerosene and paid the phone bill, and our money's about all out. So I couldn't get the one more roll of insulation we need to finish off the attic bedroom for the boys. So we'll have to wait till next week before we do any more work on it. (actually, no more work was done during the next four months.) If I was having a job we wouldn't always be just hanging on. And like I say, there's the future — college for the boys, and all.
>
> "For now, I'd like a part-time job so's I can be home with the kids. But in two or three years they'd be old enough to stay by themselves an hour or so after school. (in two years the children will range in age from 13 to 8) And they could help out, like I could ask J to do up the dishes, make the beds, and the boys to take out the trash, and they'd do it. But for now I can't take a full-time job. I'd pay out in sitters almost as much as I earned. Once I had a job, and after I took out for sitters and rides, I had something like $20. left, and it wasn't worth all that struggle.

"I've been thinking about my future. I think I'd like to take my high school equivalency. Also, I'd like to go back to school to learn practical nursing. I'd like that -- helping people. I don't want to get stuck in no lousy factory job."

For this family, however, putting their plans into effect is never easy, and it is not likely that life will ever run smoothly for them -- nor is it likely that Mrs. S. would get a job which brings her personal satisfaction as well as good pay, and at which she would work steadily over many years. (Although, with counseling and job-seeking help, it is not impossible that she could at least work a while in such a job.) The whole history of this family -- and of the generation before them -- has been one of upheaval, of dashed hopes, of marginal living.

A Typical Day For Mrs. S

Mrs. S. got up when the alarm went off at 5:15, went downstairs in her bare feet to turn up the regulator on the kerosene stove and put in more fuel. She let the dogs out the downstairs door and plugged it up with rags. She tiptoed upstairs, back through the living room where her three boys slept, two in one bed, the third on a couch-bed, past the curtained-off entrance to the girls' room (where they shared a bed), got her own clothes out of her bedroom, where her husband still slept, threw them on the stacked-up TV sets in the storage room-bathroom combination. She left the toilet-flushing for later, dressed in her husband's old pants and a shirt and sweater, with loafers (no socks), and then went back down to the kitchen. She drew a pot of water from the pipe on the floor where the water is pumped into the kitchen, lit the stove and put the water on to heat. She also lit the oven and left its door open to help heat the cold cement-floored kitchen. She cleared away the dishes and pots and pans from the eating table, where they had been left to drain the night before. She sat down to a cup of coffee and a cigarette, then put on some bacon and 2 eggs to fry and went upstairs to wake her husband. "C'mon, coffee's ready," she said out loud. He dressed quickly and came down, and ate part of the breakfast she served. "Save the rest for P., he needs it" said the father. Mrs. S. made some toast in the new toaster her husband had given her for Christmas, and while he ate this she made and packed his lunch -- sandwiches and a piece of left-over cake. "It's real cold out today. If I can get down town today, I'll bring you some hot soup at noon -- where'll you be working today?" Mr. S. mumbled, "Car probably won't start, and there ain't much gas in it anyhow. But if you do go out, put the extra spare tire in -- none of them tires is good for much." Mr. S. got up from the table, took down his storm suit, and set out. "I'll call you at lunch time if you don't come down."

Mrs. S. had another cup of coffee, turned on the radio, then at 6:45 went up to wake the children. The little boy bounced downstairs quickly and ate up the eggs and bacon his father had left. "Your appetite's really picking up now with them pills", his mother said, pleased. One of the older boys fixed a bowl of cold cereal. Amid yells of "hey, you got my sock," "Mommy, where's my sweater?" etc., they got dressed, put on boots and snow jackets. Mrs. S. came upstairs. "T., I think you'd better stay home today. I don't think your cold is getting any better." T. whined that she wanted to go, but her younger brother, P., started fussing and whining, asking if he could stay home. So Mrs. S. decided that both of the little ones would stay home. Her last minute instructions included, "Now A., if that nurse bothers you any more about them lousy check-ups, tell her where to go. All of you be good now, and don't cause no trouble. I'll be down to school later to let them know what I think of their lousy speech therapy." The three older children ran out the door as the bus pulled up at 7:15. (They will get breakfast in school.)

Mrs. S. sat down to work at a jigsaw puzzle she had started the day before. The children turned the TV on and ran around, racing little toy cars, eating apples and bread. Mother soon went downstairs to draw water to heat in big galvanized tubs on the kitchen stove. She shoved the breakfast dishes to the far side of the table, pulled the wringer washer out of the corner (where it stands beside an older model). Then she went through the house collecting dirty clothes, throwing them down the stairs, where she collected and sorted them by color into 4 loads -- from two days. She put the first load in, poured in a tub of water, set the machine in action, and went upstairs to find a cigarette. She sat down, watched TV a while --- quiz show and soap opera -- then read through a daily prayer, then went down to wring out the first batch of clothes, dump in a second (she would rinse them in successive batches later on.)

Upstairs again, Mrs. S. phoned the pediatrician's office to check if the test results had come badk on one of the older boys. "No," she told the nurse, "It has to be R. I know none of the others is bleeding" (from the rectum). "But R said he didn't have any bleeding yeaterday." The doctor would make out a prescription. She then phoned the social worker who has given her family so much help over the years. "Well, things are o.k. I guess, but he's back to stinkin' thinkin' again. We laid awake arguing till 3 a.m., but he didn't say nothing this morning." After a long talk, she hung up and screamed at the 6-year-old, "Get down off-n that ladder. Get out of there. You know what your father said. Hey, what's all this junk doing on top of this dresser?" The children skipped into the other room and began jumping off the couch. "Get off that davenport." Mother then went back down to tend to laundry; kids went back to jumping.

Mrs. S. told the kids to bundle up. "C'mon, we'll go downtown." They left TV and lights on. The door lock was broken again, but Mrs. S. went through the motions of locking it -- "so those thieving neighbors will think it's locked." She placed a thermos of hot soup in the car, rolled a second spare tire over from the side of the house and heaved it in the back of the station wagon, and rolled the car down the hill till it started. Along the way, on the 17 mile trip to town, she stopped at one of the small village stores to get cigarettes and $2.00 worth of gas. Then she stopped at school to complain to the principal. ("I really let him have it today," she reported. "We went round for round. I told them my child doesn't have no speech defect, that they're not to put her in any special classes unless I give them permission.") Travelling on downtown, she found the spot where her husband's street crew was taking its lunch break. "Hi, honey. Here's some soup." He took it, handed her his paycheck, which he endorsed leaning on the car. "Did you get that extra panelling yet?" he asked. "Of course not. What would I use for money?" "Yeah -- well, see if you can get it now. I'll maybe put the stuff up on the weekend. And try to get that gasket for the other car." She left him, went to the bank to cash the paycheck (slightly over $100 for a week) and purchase Food Stamps. She then went to the supermarket, where she fought off all the children's requests and bought just food (no non-Food Stamp products) which came to $43.00. She deftly did the coupon transaction, loaded the bags in the car and drove to the lumber company to get 10 panels of a discontinued stock for the new room. She then went to a car parts dealer to order the gasket. On the way home, she stopped again at the elementary school, had the secretary call her older daughter to the office. "You can't go to after school sports today, 'cause I'm not coming back down to get you. So you come home on the bus." The child pouted and protested, and the mother relented. "Oh, well, go ahead. I'll go do something else and pick you up at 3;30." So off the girl went, skipping down the hall. Mrs. S. corralled her other two children as they came out to the bus: They all went by car over to the home of a former social worker, who has remained a friend. While the children cavorted around the house, the women had coffee. The family left a half-hour later, picked up the girl at school and went home. By that time, the two little ones were really complaining of hunger. They were told "wait till dinner", but were allowed to go down in the kitchen and fix sandwiches. All the children started roughhousing in the new room after eating their snacks, and Mrs. S. came upstairs from where she was putting away the groceries. "Cut that out right now. Oh! you kids. Now you've torn my new curtains. Get out of here. Go on outdoors." She shooed them out of the new room, they jumped and tumbled down the stairs, and she stayed behind to mop up the water where the snow on the roof had melted in the afternoon sun and run down into the new room through the ceiling. Downstairs, she found the kids all eating apples. "Well, at least you could have saved a big one for your father." Then the kids went up to watch TV. Two boys went out in the snow. Mrs. S. sat down on the davenport to fold a big pile of clean laundry, as the children intermittently watched TV and tumbled around her. Mr. S. still wasn't home at 4:30. "Why would he be late?" she wondered. When he came in a half hour later, he was enthusiastically greeted, then ignored, by the children. "I met Janice downtown. She looked like she needed someone to keep her from taking a drink, so I offered to drive her home. She invited me in for coffee." Mrs. S. protested, "But I thought that first cup of coffee after the day's work was supposed to be for you and me. I've had it ready for an hour, and where were you?" Mr. S. didn't reply, went in to lie down on their bed, yelled at the children to be quiet. Mrs. S. went down to fix supper. The rinsed but wet clothes were still in the washtub, the two loads of clothes that never got done lay scattered on the floor. She kicked them aside, next to the sprawled-out car engine parts, cleared off a bit more space on the kitchen table -- leaving jars of peanut butter, can of evaporated milk, ketchup, bread, all opened, in the center of the table, breakfast dishes at one end. She made a meat dish of hamburger and canned tomatoes, and onions, and served it over spagetti. She yelled upstairs. The kids flew down, devoured their food, before the mother asked, "Where's your father?" "Oh, he's sleeping" she answered for herself. "Well I'll keep this hot for him." The children finished up a can of peaches, and by 7 p.m. were watching TV, playing with toy cars, and the older one was reading, amidst all the noise. Mrs. S. did up the day's dishes when the water finally got hot.

Mr. S. woke up and Mrs. S. took him his supper in front of the TV in the new room -- children were kept out. He coughed and said, "I shouldn't a gone to work today, this cold in my chest is just aching me." Mrs. S. rubbed his chest with Vicks. He went back to bed, fell asleep. The children went to bed (in an assortment of clothes and pajamas) between 8 and 9 o'clock, except for one boy who watched TV for a while more. Mrs. S. brought up a pail of water from downstairs to flush the toilet, then she too went to bed. Just as she got to sleep, her husband woke up, ready to argue. "How come you're so jealous if I had coffee with Janice? I suppose you never spent any time with a man all that time you were gone?" -- and on and on, sometimes loud, but this time with no blows. Finally, they agreed to cut it out and go to sleep.

(This description of a typical day is about average for this family. When family life is going better, when she and her husband are not fighting, Mrs. S. is noticeably more responsive and warm to her children. On the other hand, there are times when the situation at home is much more volatile than that described here.)

CHAPTER IX

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS ON IMPROVING THE WORK SITUATION FOR WOMEN OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES, BASED ON OBSERVATIONS IN A RURAL POVERTY COMMUNITY

Basically, a conclusion of this ethnographic study is that a considerable amount of rehabilitation of the community and its families is necessary if any goals are to be reached for any type of improvement in their situations. These recommendations, when they are formulated, will cover a wide range of problem areas and a long range of time. However, at the present time, it is possible to make a number of recommendations specifically related to the problems faced by women in connection with taking on jobs -- problems which prevent some low income women from working at all or with any steadiness, or which make life quite difficult for the woman who does take a job. The recommendations will be made on the assumption that the job picture, the available jobs, will not forever remain as gloomy as it is now.

1. Counselling help and money for women just going off welfare and into jobs, and for women of known low income or from multi-problem families or previous welfare families who are deciding to reenter the labor force. This counselling help should start before the woman takes a job, to provide her with the special advice and courage she may need to try out the employment scene and to make sensible arrangements in her life patterns -- such as her children's care before she gets the job, and to smooth over the many problems which arise, unanticipated, after the woman starts working. She may need some ego-boosting, some encouragement to stick it out on the job in hopes of raising up from the bottom rung soon, etc. The money is quite important. If a woman was on welfare and getting Food Stamps, it is most unlikely that any job she could get would start her out with an equivalent amount -- and there will be income taxes and health and retirement benefits taken out of that check she earns. Thus, she may come out financially behind, at least at first, and become discouraged, figuring that it's pointless to continue, especially if she has no personal committment to the job, no aspirations for status and fulfillment derived from performance in the job world. There are also other needs for money when the woman starts work -- new expenses that she may not have had before -- decent

clothes for herself, perhaps a workable washing machine or dryer or running water and sewer - to enable her to keep up with her household chores even when she's away from home at a job all day. This money assistance could be in the form of continuing the Welfare payments -- but such is not apt to be a very welcome thing, for any woman with ambition enough to do all it takes to go to work to support a large or poor or fatherless family must also probably be quite anxious to get rid of the, "snooping, limiting, breathing-down-your-neck Welfare people." It would seem better if such monetary assistance could come in the form of allowing the woman to continue her family on Food Stamps for a certain period, or guaranteeing to reimburse her for paycheck deductions for health and retirement, or giving her tax relief for the first year she is employed.

2. There needs to be a great shift to opening up part-time jobs for these women -- jobs which fit within the hours of the school day for her children. Part time jobs are also needed because in addition to the problem of what to do about the children after school, there is also have many more demands on their time than a middle class woman would have. For one thing, her housework is much more demanding of time, due to inefficient equipment and perhaps a large family. Secondly, in the daily life patterns of these rural poor families, the woman must be free to do a number of jobs and tasks which need to get done for the running of the family, but which the husband, if present, is unable to accomplish because he is working all day (or working nights and sleeping days, or working at two jobs) or because he is for any number of reasons unable to do them (perhaps incapacitated, or maybe just terribly ineffective). Hopefully some of the woman's time which is now devoted to being home with sick family members or carting them to doctors could be reduced if there were better health care -- certainly a needed improvement. But for families living on marginal incomes and in rural areas, there is a real need for the woman to be free for at least a part of the day to accomplish all the many things which fall to her to do.

3. In the area of job training for women who want to go back to work after the childbearing years, there should be some facility available to these women before they apply for jobs, where they can brush up on whatever skills they might need. These skills might include merely just the basics in how to look for jobs, how to talk to prospective employers, how to talk on the phone, how to fill out forms, and other simple basics which are too often taken for granted. Also, for women who have previously learned a skill, such as typing, which they may have had several or many years ago in high school or on a previous job, the facilities and equipment for a quick refresher ought to be available. How, for example, is a 30-year-old woman supposed to apply for a job which involves taking a typing test if she hasn't seen a typewriter for 15 years? This simple kind of general job-preparation (rather than specific job-training) should be available free of charge and during the daytime hours when her children are in school. Signing up for a semester of night school is a realistic expectation for these women. The kind of mini-training suggested should be sponsored not by the employer, but by an anti-poverty agency, and would enable the woman to get a small amount of preparation before she actually applies for the job. And in connection with this brush-up, would be counselling and advice about job seeking, about the kinds of jobs available, about the kinds of jobs desirable for her, and realistic planning about the woman's own job future.

4. There should be an improvement in long-range counselling and job training, which tries to get the young high school girls of these families and the young women just beyond the school age during their years of early married life. Job-planning and family-planning could be coupled, so that the girl could begin to see a pattern of long-range goals for herself, in which the sequence of childbearing and career development are all part of a kind of master plan for her. The job experience of young women before they arrive at the time when they are really tied to home and children, should be upgraded so that her time out for child rearing becomes an interval, not an ending point, in her active participation in the job world; so that she can set her sights on the possibility of continuing, rather than starting all over again at the bottom in a job -- just any old job she happens to land. The training and experience of her earlier years could somehow be made more applicable to her later reentrance into the job world.

5. Finally, a suggestion for a kind of pilot project which would be applicable to these women of rural poverty families might be in order. The project would be based on part-time jobs, or piece work, on contract from local factories or offices made available to be done at a location near where these women live -- most preferable in or near the elementary school where their children are. The women could go back and forth to work on the school bus with their children, and would work near where the children are for just those hours that the children are in school. The work would be of various sorts -- there must be some types of jobs which can be farmed out on a piece work basis -- anything from simple assembly or finishing projects, to typing or even stuffing envelopes. Projects could also include handicrafts, at which some of these women have considerable skills or could quickly acquire them. In connection with this work center, there would be a day care center, so that these women could bring their youngest children and have them cared for right in the same building. There would be trained personnel caring for the children, and an emphasis would be put on encouraging the mothers working at this center to gain from the experience of watching professional people working with small children -- mothers would be encouraged to work in the day care center, to talk with the staff, to borrow toys and equipment, and mostly ideas, to take home. Some of the women could receive sufficient training in child care to enable them to get jobs in this field later. Because the work that the women do would be of a piece-work variety, they could be more flexeble about such things as staying home from work if a baby or school child were sick. Obviously such a job-center-day-care-center would be only a source of a rather small income for the woman, and the work itself would not likely be terrifically interesting or benificial in terms of providing training for some skilled job elsewhere. But a woman could spend a year or two doing this kind of work during the time that her children are small, and then when the children are all in school -- or all at whatever age she deems sufficient -- then she could go out to a regular job, either part-time or full-time, as she needed. During the time when the woman was working at such a proposed center, however, she would be getting some income -- perhaps enough to make the difference between independence and welfare, and she would be having excellent care for her small children, and a chance for her preschoolers

and herself to enjoy the company of others. It would probably help jack up her sagging image of herself to be operating in such a group. Such centers could be operated on a relatively small budget -- and the women might well kick in some of the money they earn to help cover the cost of the child care. It is quite likely that husbands would not object to their women doing such a thing, as they would be bringing home a little money, but not enough to threaten the men's egos, and there would be no question about neglecting the children, and it would not be the kind of place a man could complain about his wife being -- supervised, women only, all engaged in productive work -- thus not leading to husband's suspicions of his wife playing around. Such a center might also serve as a means of disseminating information about community services, and it might, in addition, prove helpful in improving interpersonal relationships between the women of these rural poverty neighborhoods.

INTENSIVE CASE STUDIES
OF FOUR WORK TYPES
OF LOW INCOME WOMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES

by
BARBARA FRANCIS
and
JANICE DAUGHERTY

F-2003

TWENTY FIVE INTENSIVE CASE STUDIES

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PROCEDURES AND SUMMARY

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of the intensive case studies is to supplement the statistical data of the structured questionnaire by providing significant insights into the relationship between the family and the work environment. Using the various sources of information available from the Tompkins County Department of Social Services and the in-depth interviews, it was possible to obtain a more intimate view of how families function when the mother is employed and when she is not working. This complementaty kind of data has enriched the total study in ways advocated by William F. Whyte in his paper entitled "On the Utilization of the Behavioral Sciences and Manpower Research." He suggests that the methods of research utilized by the behavioral sciences should be considered as complementary rather than competitive.

This kind of expansion on the original data gives the statistics a human touch and a sense of wholeness to the entire study. In essence, it substitutes people for numbers. It is significant to note that although the methods and approach to the study of the twenty-five families are different than those used for the rest of the study, the conclusions are very similar.

B. PROCEDURE

(1) Case Selection

A random sample of twenty-five women were selected for intensive in-depth interviews. The sample was restricted to the single welfare district of Tompkins County. The women were also chosen to be representatives of the four main analysis cells in the larger sample survey; i.e,, they were about equally distributed with regard to husband presence or absence and working or not working. All of the women selected were on welfare at the time of the original structured interview in the summer and fall of 1969.

(2) Data Gathering Methods

The following sources of information were gathered for each case study participant and used in the final analysis and case study write-up:

- two personal interviews (spring 1970 and fall 1970)
- case worker interview (through to December 1970)
- welfare history case records (through to December 1970)
- structured questionnaire (summer and fall 1969)
- panel study questionnaire (December 1970)
- interviews with husbands where possible
- medical examination

Every effort was made to coordinate the various data gathering methods and insure that the final analysis and write-up of each case was as comprehensive and integrated as possible.

(a) Two Personal Interviews

1. Contact

All case study participants were first contacted by a letter informing them of the procedures by which they had been selected, purposes of the study, and assurances of confidentiality. They were also offered a total of $7.00 for two interviews of approximately two hours each.

The initial letter was followed up by a phone call, where possible, or a visit to make arrangements for a time for the interview.

2. Interview Schedule

The schedule for the case study interview was intended to be less structured and more open-ended than the initial questionnaire which was the first contact with these women. Subjects were encouraged to expand on their answers and were given ample opportunity to qualify and elaborate on the reasons for their replies. Participants were also encouraged to raise issues which they felt would be useful to the purposes of the study which might not have been included.

Although there was a definite effort not to impose a rigid structure on which areas the interviewers were to focus, they were responsible for covering the following areas during the course of their discussions as outlined:

I. Demographic Information and Family Chronology
II. The Woman - Individual Behavior and Adjustment
  A. Self-concept
    1. self esteem and image
    2. characteristics she attributes to self
  B. Locus of Control
    1. outlook on life
    2. determination of destiny
    3. woman's evaluation of past, present, and future
III. Marital Relationship
  A. Husband's functioning and adjustment
    1. work history and status
    2. functioning and self-concept
  B. Marital solidarity
    1. marital history
    2. roles of husband and wife
    3. current feelings about marriage
    4. relationship between husband and wife
IV. Parental Relationships
  A. Adjustment of maternal role
    1. acceptance of role
    2. size of family
  B. Child-rearing practices
    1. discipline
    2. values and beliefs taught children
    3. limits and expectations for children
    4. children's future
  C. Children's function and adjustment
    1. description of behavior and adjustment
    2. description of each child
  D. Family solidarity

V. Health
    A. Health problems of family members
    B. Health practices
VI. Homemaking
    A. Physical facilities and homemaking responsibilities
    B. Homemaking practices
VII. Social Relationships
    A. Social relationships and emotional support
        1. family background
        2. friendships
        3. use of leisure time
        4. assistance and advice
    B. Financial support
VIII. Community Relationships
    A. Use of community resources
    B. Contribution to community
IX. Welfare and Family Finances
    A. Welfare relationships
    B. Welfare attitudes and adjustment
        1. family feelings about public assistance in general
        2. suggestions for change in welfare system
    C. Financial practices
X. Employment
    A. Employment history and patterns
        1. information on each job
        2. employment history of kin
    B. Employment obstacles and resources
    C. Employment attitudes and adjustment
        1. attitudes toward women working in general
        2. feelings about woman's working
        3. job preference
        4. benefits and detriments for family when woman works

(For a more detailed outline, see Appendix I)

3. Interview Procedure

An effort was made to interview the woman alone, although there were often young children present. After explaining the purpose of the study and assuring strict confidentiality permission was requested for the interview to be taped. In most cases, this was granted. These tapes were later useful in assisting interviewers to write up more accurate transcripts. Two such interviews were obtained for each case during the spring and fall of 1970. Only one of the twenty-five participants refused a second interview.

(b) Interviews with Case Workers

The case worker assigned to each of our twenty-five case study participants was contacted by our interviewers. Each case worker was questioned with regard to the following:

- clarifications of ambiguities in welfare record information
- her assessment of the families' levels of functioning in each of the areas assessed by the modified Geismar scale
- effects of the wife's working on the family
- extent of the family's dependency on welfare
- attitudes of the family towards welfare
- status of the family as of December 1970
- prospects for change or improvement in the future

(c) Inspection of Case Records

Permission was granted by the commissioner of the Tompkins County Department of Social Services for each interviewer to read through the welfare record of the family they had interviewed. The information gathered was transcribed onto a coding sheet (Appendix II) which covered the following major areas:

- Welfare history:
  - length of time on
  - number of re-openings
  - reasons for closing
  - parental welfare history
- Marital history:
  - number of marriages
  - dates of separations or divorces
  - marital problems observed
- Children :
  - total number
  - handicaps mental or physical
  - behavior problems
  - school problems
  - legal difficulty
- Day care :
  - current arrangements for each child in family
  - total cost to welfare
- Work history :
  - reasons for seeking work
  - job history dates
  - consequences of finding work
  - training
  - husband's attitude
- Other :
  - general assessment of woman herself
  - health
  - other serious problems in family
  - housekeeping

(d) Structured Questionnaire and Panel Study

All of the case study participants were interviewed in the original survey during the summer and fall of 1969. This questionnaire is the one used to gather the basic data for the entire study and covered general background and demographic information. It also included many attitudinal areas related to work, home, and family functioning. All of the case study women were also included in the Phase I panel study which provided additional information on the family and its status through December 1970. These two additional sources of information were used to provide additional data for our analysis of changes in status and attitudes as they relate to the effects of work on the family.

(e) Interviews with Husbands

All of the families having the husband present in the home in the fall of 1970 were contacted to make arrangements for an interview with the husband if possible. Initially they were written a letter followed by a phone call or a short visit to make appointments for interviews. Seven of the twelve respondents were willing to be interviewed and trained male interviewers went to their homes and conducted sessions of about two hours. These sessions were taped with permission. The material in the husband interviews covered similar areas as those in the interviews with the wives (Appendix III). An effort was made to keep it relatively unstructured touching on all of the areas of specific interest to our study. Most of the husbands were interviewed twice and paid a total of $7.00. Great efforts were made to assure as high a response rate as possible. In one case in which the husband was a Polish immigrant who spoke no English, a search was conducted until the research project located a suitable male interviewer, one who spoke Polish.

(f) Medical Examinations

In the summer of 1970, Drs. Michael Latham and Daphne Roe conducted a pilot study health project as groundwork for a proposal for a larger survey on health and nutrition practices among our population. The plan of the study included a complete physical check-up in a clinic which included both the mothers and their children where possible. About one-third of the case study sample was included in this pilot project, and where the information is aviilable has been included in the final write-ups. The health questionnaire (Appendix IV) covered:

major and minor disabilities
operations
history of illnesses
number of pregnancies and children
findings from the medical examination and dental exams

(3) Classification of the cases into four work history typologies.

(a) Data necessary for classification. Preliminary findings from the study and other research data on work typologies were used to determine the data necessary for a proper typology. On the basis of this work, five bits of information were obtained for each woman covering her work history during the time period, January 1960 to January 1970. This time was considered an adequate length of time to note changes in employment and thus establish a work pattern.

1. Total number of months employed
2. Number of periods of unemployment of one month or more
3. Total number of jobs held
4. Longest period of employment on one job
5. Average duration of time employed per total number of jobs

(b) Criteria for classification into the four types

Type of worker	# yrs worked	# periods unemployment	# different jobs	longest time one job
Steady	5 1/2 or more	2 or less	3 or less	4 1/2 yrs or more
Periodic	2 or more	2 or less	3 or less	2 - 4 yrs
Sporadic	4 1/2 or more	4 or more	5 or more	2 - 3 yrs
Non-worker	1/2 or less	2 or less	1 or none	3 months or less

(c) The four typologies.

Of the twenty-five cases, seven were classified steady workers, five periodic, five sporadic, and eight as non-workers.

The steady workers are characterized by their longer term of employment, relatively few periods of unemployment and tendency to stay with a job for a longer period of time. The periodic workers tend to have had long periods of unemployment coupled with fairly short work histories and a shorter period for holding one job. The sporadic workers are primarily characterized by the larger number of periods of unemployment. They tend to enter and leave the labor force more often and to have a larger number of jobs. The non-workers are clearly contrasted from the others.

(4) The Family Functioning Rating Categories

(a) Modification of the Geismar scale

The work by Geismar and his colleagues is one of the earliest efforts to deal with the conceptual and methodological problems raised by the need to evaluate the social functioning of families. Much of his work is oriented toward describing "multi-problem" or "hard core" families. The categories on which the ratings are based relate to basic tasks, assumed to the necessary for the maintenance of family unity and the welfare of its members. The ratings tend to cluster about the social roles performed by family members. These roles often do not fall exclusively into one group or the other but are performed both inside the family and in the larger social system. Thus, economic functioning involves both the securing of an adequate income, but also requires a realistic money management in the home. The question of what set of concepts gives an adequate picture of social functioning depends also upon the kinds of families evaluated.

Within our sample of twenty-five welfare women there is a much greater range among the families with regard to levels of functioning. Not all of the families can be characterized as living in "poverty" or as being faced with a "multi-problem" situation. For these reasons, a modified form of the Geismar scale was developed (see Appendix V) retaining most of his basic outline of areas salient to family functioning. These categories were also used in the in-depth interview schedules, the final case study write-ups and the section which includes the findings and conclusions based on the case studies.

(b) Rating procedures

Each of the case study participants was rated by a pair of independent judges who had access to all of the sources of data available on each case. Where significant differences occurred in rating scores, evaluations in the interviews with case workers were consulted.

The ratings for each case were included in the final write-ups. They were placed at the beginning of each category. The first two categories of "demographic information" and "family changes" were rated plus or minus. The remaining eleven categories had a score ranging from 1 to 7. The criterion used for rating each category is outlined in Appendix VI.

- Demographic information on woman (age, education, number of children, work skills, race or ethnic background, welfare status, work status)
- Family changes (welfare, marital, husband's work, wife's work, self, health, other)
- Synopsis of woman and family (over-all score of level of functioning of family, over-all score of functioning of woman)
- Woman (self-concept, locus of control)
- Marital Relationship (husband's functioning, marital solidarity)
- Parental Relationship (acceptance of maternal role, child-rearing practices, children's functioning, family solidarity)
- Health (health problems, health practices)
- Homemaking (physical facilities and needs, homemaking practices)
- Social Relationships (social relationships and emotional support, financial support)
- Community (use of community resources, contribution to community)
- Welfare and family finances (welfare history and adjustment, welfare attitudes, financial management)
- Employment (employment history, employment obstacles and resources, employment attitudes, future employment prospects)
- Effects of working (on woman, on children, on husband, on homemaking)

(5) Final Write-up of the Case Studies

By the spring of 1971 all the data on the twenty-five case studies had been collected and the eleven-year period which extended from January 1960 to December 1970 had ended. At this time the final write-up of the case studies began. The goal was to draw on the eight sources of information already described in the section on data gathering methods in some kind of comprehensive and integrated way using as much of the relevant material as possible. However, because of the abundance of information, it was necessary to be selective about what was included in order that the studies not be too lengthy. Those facts and findings which were pertinent in showing the effects of working or not working on the family and its functioning were given priority as were other important kinds of background information. (See Appendix VII for outline for final write-up)

I. Demographic Information and Chronology of Change

A. Demographic Information

Since the women in our sample all have at least one teenage child, they tend to be older than the women in the welfare population at large. Our case study sample of twenty-five includes ten women in their early thirties, ten in their late thirties and early forties, and five in their fifties. About half of the women completed high school and two went on to receive additional training. Most of those who dropped out, did so during the last three years of high school. Our sample includes five women who did not complete junior high school and are virtually illiterate.

Since the women in our sample tend to be older, we find fewer young children in the home. Less than half of our case study families include a pre-school age child. Nonetheless, the size of these families is large, with homes which include nine, twelve, and fourteen children. About half of the women report having three or four children while the rest have five or more.

Most of the women in our sample have been through the experience of divorce, separation, or desertion. Only eight women are currently living with their first husbands. Five have remarried. Half of the families are mother-headed households.

We have classified the employment status of women in our sample into four categories: steady workers, periodic, sporadic and non-workers. Eight mothers are regarded as non-workers because they have never worked for more than one month. Seventeen have been employed for periods of a year or more. Within this group seven were classified as long-term steady workers, five as sporadic because of their high turnover, and five as periodic because of their large gaps of unemployment.

The jobs these women hold are generally low status and low pay. Seven work as domestics or in laundries, kitchens, or as waitresses. Two work at home as day care mothers. Among the relatively more prestigious positions, we have two community aides who work for local agencies, and six women who have clerical positions in offices or laboratories.

B. Chronology of Change

Most of the women in our sample have experienced the turbulence of unexpected change in marriage, employment, welfare status, health, pregnancy, and place of residence during the past ten years. Only eight women are still living with their first husbands. Several women report having been through three divorces and remarriages. Equally as disruptive are the many periods of separation and abandonment that usually precede the decision to get a divorce. In later sections we will describe the way in which this has a direct effect on changes in a woman's employment and welfare status.

At the time of the last interview, sixteen of our case study families were currently receiving welfare assistance and nine were not. Welfare status is frequently an unstable one, however, due to changes in the marital relationship, husband's employment, moves, and support payments. In a closer examination of these families welfare histories and the reason for the frequent case closings and reopenings, we will discuss the factors which appear to account for the instability. There is much variation in the total length of time in receiving public assistance. Very few cases were open for less than a year. About half were open from two to four years. Six mothers had been receiving assistance between five and ten years while six more had been on welfare from eleven to twenty years. For most of the women in our sample, the prospects of going off welfare before their children are grown, whether employed or not, is dim.

Two-thirds of the women in our sample experienced a change in their employment status. The periodic workers particularly were likely to show a large number of exits and entries into the labor force with long gaps between jobs either because they were home with children or their husbands had returned home. Sporadic workers report unusually high job turnover rates, often averaging less than a year per job. Unfortunately, the high turnover is not always reflecting upward job mobility. In several cases, in fact, we find the level of a woman's job rapidly deteriorating from bookkeeper to night club waitress. The steady workers report fewer job changes, in part because their families are so totally dependent on them economically. Among the non-workers are women who have never worked in their lives and who appear most unlikely ever to do so.

One final aspect of these women's lives which is particularly subject to unexpected change is their health. At least half of the women in our sample report some change for the worse with regard to medical conditions either for themselves or some other family member they are responsible for. their employment pattern is seriously affected not only by their interruptions for pregnancies or operations but also for problems involving husbands and children. Because these women are older, their more recent work histories are less interrupted by unplanned-for pregnancies. Their earlier work histories, however, clearly reveal the turbulence that lack of information concerning contraception can lead to.

The families in our sample report a great deal of moving not only within counties but from state to state. One mother tells of twenty-two changes of residence during the past ten years. Such a history is not uncommon, particularly when husbands are present and welfare payments are less regular. Flights appear to be motivated by feelings of the need to escape bill collectors, being thrown out because of large noisy families or inability to pay the rent, or simply endless chasing and searching after husbands who have deserted.

II. The Women - Individual Behavior and Adjustment

A. Descriptive

Despite stereotypes of the welfare population, we find a complete range of personality and appearance within our case study sample. Mrs. Q and Mrs. N are both Central European immigrants who have clung to the ways of their home culture in the midst of upstate New York. In contrast to these "old world" European women, we also have young, sophisticated women who thrive on an urban setting taking advantage of whatever "swinging" night life is available. Several others in our sample are frail, frightened and withdrawn farm wives who fear leaving the security of their rural isolation. Women can also be quite outgoing however. Mrs. J and Mrs. T for instance weigh well over 200 pounds each and are aggressive and domineering, constantly visiting schools and actively expressing their opinions in the community. There are both black and white women with a long history of out-of-wedlock children, who have never married, and whose daughters are currently beginning the same cycle. Several women have attempted suicide while others describe their lives as "the very best possible."

Perhaps the only thing we can say about all of these women is that they have all experienced periods of severe strain and turmoil in their lives. They have all suffered in varying degrees from the anxieties of unstable finances. Although many women faced common problems, we find wide variations in their abilities to cope with them, depending on the resources available. Some women have found new strengths in themselves as a result of family crises, while others, despite heroic efforts have finally given up any hopes for change. Mrs. B, a black woman in her thirties, with ten children, who has recently completed a training program and holds a job as a community aide is one of the stronger women in our sample. Although she feels that things are much better for her now than ever before, her life has not been easy. She says, "All that worry and just trying to survive gets to your head and messes you up."

These twenty-five in-depth case studies have provided much more than mere descriptive and anecdotal insight into our data. Rather, they have acted as a constant reminder of the individuality of each of these women and a caution to social science researchers against categorizing and generalizing without qualification. No single picture should come to mind as one reads about our case study participants or our larger population.

B. Self-Concept and Evaluation

When and how should judgment be made as to the impact of working on the woman herself: according to whether or not she wants and chooses to work; by her own feelings after she has begun working; according to other estimates of her situation after she has begun working? Among our steady work types, there is a dramatic contrast between Mrs. V and Mrs. Q. Although both women feel that it is through their own efforts as workers that they have managed to "hold the family together" the effects on their self-esteem have been quite different. Mrs. V feels that her ability to hold down a job makes her a more worthwhile person in her own eyes and those of her children. She feels respected as a "good hard worker."

For Mrs. Q, however, the status of worker has become a symbol of all that is wrong in her life and all that she dislikes about herself. The Q family has been receiving welfare assistance for a period of nine years. The family went on welfare soon after arriving in the United States from Europe. Her husband was permanently disabled and received no compensation from his employer. Mrs. Q went to work in a cafeteria at that time and has been working full time ever since with the exception of periods out for illnesses - pneumonia, ulcers, and back trouble. Although she believes that people should work hard in this life, she bitterly resents being placed in the role of provider. She is torn between regarding herself as the breadwinner and head of the household, or the dutiful wife standing in for her husband. Her status in the home is unclear because it conflicts with the family's patriarchal ideology. Any attempt to improve her work status would further threaten the already shaky self-concepts she and her husband have of themselves as "good and proper" husband and wife.

Mrs. Q's attitudes about the effects of work on her self-esteem are similar to those held by many of the non-workers in our sample. Mrs. L, also of immigrant background "strongly agrees" that being a homemaker has more prestige than holding a job. Few of the non-workers view employment as a means for improving their own feelings about themselves and their worth to others.

Mrs. E, a sporadic worker, has turned to employment as a way to restore her self-confidence after an unhappy marriage. Prior to her divorce she had never worked at a full-time job. During her first few years of trying to support herself, she said she was discovering for the first time what she was "capable of doing and being." She described the difficulty she had working up sufficient confidence to apply for her first office job and her sense of triumph when she asked for a raise and got it a few months later.

Mrs. E's sporadic work pattern is due primarily to her definition of work as a means for restoring her self-esteem. Although she is working to support her family, it is important to her that the positions she takes have promise of "advancement." She quit one job because she did not find it "mentally fatiguing." She told her current boss that she wanted "more responsibility." Along with several other sporadic workers, she is seeking social mobility through employment:

> "I took the job because it was a starting job, but I can't stay in one position. I have to keep going up...how I'm going to do it I don't know other than just experience, keeping your eyes and ears open and learning all you can."

It's a personal thing, I just want to see how far I can get myself I guess, after being nothing for so long - and now I figure I have to better myself financially speaking, so I also think I have to intellectually better myself, and since I don't have the time, money, or energy to do it in school, I've got to do it on a day to day basis."

C. Locus of Control and Outlook on Life

For many of the steady workers, employment was one of the few elements of stability in their lives. During Mrs. V's stormy marriage, her job she claims was "like a home." For Mrs. Q, self-esteem centers around her being able to help herself. If something happens so that she is no longer able to do this, as when her health fails, she feels bitter and frightened. She says, "I don't care what people say to me. I just help myself, my life - that's all. As long as God gives me strength, I help myself."

In contrast, for most of the non-workers, life is so completely out of their control that they hold little hope or faith in their own abilities to change things. Mrs. T ,in her thirties,has an elementary education and seven children. Her illiteracy and general incompetency have made her a helpless burden on her husband and family. She depends on Mr. T and her caseworker in helping to cope with everyday decisions, situations, and family crises. She has little sense of herself as an active individual. "I sometimes forget I'm even here, I'm so busy with my family - just like I wasn't even around." She accepts what life brings to her. "There is never a best time or a worst time. The best and worst are always mixed. We just do the best we can and handle things as they come along." Mrs. T's dependency also has contributed to many job losses for Mr. T because she does not realize the importance of his being to work on time and regularly. Instead she keeps him home to settle family problems she can't cope with. "It seems like life gets to me once in a while and my husband has to take over and straighten things out."

Although the case of Mrs. E might suggest that a sporadic work pattern indicates a woman actively controlling her own destiny by searching for jobs with "promise," a high job turnover may also be an indication of serious turmoil. Mrs. K is also a sporadic worker, but has only worked because her husband forced her to. In the past eleven years Mrs. K has had a total of nine jobs and been through one training program. She has also moved from state to state twenty-two times since her marriage. Outside of welfare assistance, she has been the main source of financial support even when her husband was present. Her ability to move her family from state to state in addition to seeking out employment in each new city clearly indicates the strength of her will to hold her family together.

Several times in her life, however, Mrs. K has felt so overwhelmed, weak, and crushed that she literally has tried to escape from all her responsibilities. One of these times was the winter when Mr. K deserted the family after the birth of another child. Mrs. K found herself faced with three children under the age of three, physically incapable of supporting herself, and alone in a strange city. During this period she tried to commit suicide. After a few weeks of counseling from a Mental Health Clinic, she decided to search for her husband and drove herself and the three infants to find him. Again she was overwhelmed with the pressures of holding a job and the threat of losing her husband. Her husband convinced her at this point to place the children in foster homes in order to save their marriage. While a somewhat extreme example, the case of the K family reflects the desperate but often destructive attempts many of the women in our study resort to in their efforts to control their own destinies.

Mrs. M is another sporadic worker, whose employment history reflects her feelings of inability to control life around her. She has held a total of ten jobs in the last eleven years, all of which lasted a year or less. She was fired from at least three of them and "quit for personal reasons" on the others. In many respects she might be regarded as a relatively "successful" member of our population, in that she has acquired bookkeeping skills and when working usually earns enough to support her family on her own. She has only turned to public assistance four times in the last twelve years. Three of these times were during periods when she was hospitalized due to serious illness. At this point in time, however, she is receiving assistance because her earnings are inadequate.

At the time of her first interview, Mrs. M reported that the way things were going for her at the present time were the "worst possible." When asked what would make things better in the future, she says, "sometimes I wish I could find someone...but then it passes." She would like very much to remarry because she feels "alone in the world." When she "daydreams" she finds herself wondering what she has to do when she gets home. When she feels depressed (which is often) she takes a tranquilizer and goes to bed early. She described the highlight of her day as the time when she takes her nap. When asked what she might do with an extra hour a day, she says, "I don't think I'd particularly want one." "I go to bed at 9:00 so what's an extra hour." Included in Mrs. M's welfare files is the cryptic note that she was recently in trouble for registering too many times to buy large quantities of cough syrup with a high codiene content. Mrs. M. prides herself on "getting this far alone," but the cost of her independence in personal tensions and pressures seems to have been a high one.

The instances of quiet desperation occur among workers and non-workers alike. Mrs. G is a black woman in her forties, . who has a heart condition. She has been separated from her husband for eleven years and has worked throughout her life as a domestic. Her children have all had trouble in school either because of behavior problems or serious learning disabilities. Mrs. G still grieves deeply for her sister who died suddenly a few years ago. Mrs. G only began receiving financial assistance from welfare two years ago. Up until this time she said she had been told that she was ineligible because she was holding full-time domestic jobs or because her husband was still living with the family (though unemployed). She says she sometimes wishes she had lied the way her friends did to get the money. "I always saw the rent was paid because I didn't want the kids throwed out, but I should have sat down and said I couldn't get no job."

She had an accident a few years ago and had to be hospitalized. She says she enjoyed this period of her life very much because they treated her so well in the hospital. Although her employer was unwilling to help pay for her doctor bills, they did help her to get public assistance. Due to her health, Mrs. G will never be able to work again, and she finds this very depressing. Whereas previously she was unhappy because she had to work so hard to support the children, she now is truly upset about her poor health. She would like to be able to go out and do some work but knows this will be impossible for the rest of her life.

Mrs. G feels that she has suffered more than her share and sees little hope for the future. Although she has always been a hard worker, she has never felt in control of her life. She is also a very religious person who feels everything is the "will of God." She has tried to raise her children to be prepared to accept the bitterness of life as she has. She strongly agrees with the following statements: "Children should learn early, that if you don't look out for yourself, people will take advantage of you; 'There isn't much you can do about the way things are going to turn out in life;' 'Children should be taught not to expect too much out of life so they won't be disappointed." At the same time, she encourages her children to accept their fate without making an effort to rise above it, she also says that, "Children should be taught that the job comes first, even if it means giving up most of the fun," and that "Working now really pays off in the future."

Although Mrs. G may encourage her children to be hard workers, it must seem clear to them that hard work doesn't necessarily bring rewards. Their mother has worked most of her life yet they are still living in poverty. She holds few hopes for either herself or her family. As a black woman with an eighth grade education, no job training, an alcoholic husband, and problems with her children, she has little hope of decreasing her dependence on welfare or improving her work status. She might be characterized by a desolation of resources and hope.

Although we have women in our sample who have a hopeful outlook on life and who have taken steps to improve their condition, most have found the problem of coping with daily existence an overwhelming one at times. There is no doubt that much of their fatalism is grounded in the reality they see around them. Most women place whatever hopes they have for the future in the hands of their children. Unfortunately, in many cases, this also has led to bitterness and disappointments.

III. Marital Relationship

A. Husband's Functioning

Although the experiences of the women in our case studies certainly confirms the role of sickness, lack of education, lack of training and lack of child care facilities in maintaining dependency, they also demand that we pay more critical attention to other aspects of their lives that often bear more of a causal relationship to their dependence on welfare than their employment status. The welfare dependence of these women is caused primarily by marital instability and its corollaries, including the multiple problems of a fatherless and husbandless home. Employment factors enter only secondarily for them when the rest of their world falls apart and they then discover that the poor skills that they can offer in the labor market are insufficient to support themselves. Although WIN's focus on employment may in fact enable some women to support their families, it does very little directly to meet the wide range of problems being spawned by their unstable family structure, which itself is helping to create the dependency of a whole new generation.

It appears from our case studies that much of the marital instability experienced by these women was related to the lack of marketable skills, poor attitudes toward work, and underemployment of their husbands, boyfriends, and former husbands. Therefore, the most effective attack at the roots of the ADC dependency problem would be to reach these men and the boys who are currently reaching maturity only to find themselves in the same position. We could eliminate some of the causes of an unstable family structure and therefore the causes of dependency by helping these men, rather than concentrating solely on the symptoms of the problem - those who are receiving assistance.

A detailed examination of the welfare histories of our twenty-five case study women shows the close relationship between an unstable work status (primarily the husband's) and an unstable marital relationship in bringing these women onto welfare. Although many of the men in these families are workers, both they and their jobs are unstable. Their husbands lack both the skills and attitudes necessary to get and hold jobs. Even when they are steady workers, they frequently do not earn enough to support their families. Aggravating this economic marginality is an extremely unstable family life. Several case study women were barely managing to support their families on their own earning plus their husband's support payments, but when their husbands fell behind in their payments, there was no recourse but public assistance. As one woman noted bitterly, "He didn't want to work or do nothin', just beat me and the kids." Another woman managed to support her two children for several years with no financial help from her husband, but a $30 month rent increase on her apartment exceeded her earning and forced her onto public assistance for that small amount.

Table 1 Reasons for Case Openings 59 openings, 25 women

N Unstable Work Status

N	Unstable Work Status
7	Underemployment-insufficient income
10	Husband out of work
4	Wife out of work
4	Changing jobs-pay not yet received
8	Serious illness of wage earner-no benefits

N	Unstable Marital Relationships
4	Family Breakup
14	No husband, no support
4	Husband in jail, no income

N	General economic marginality
4	Emergency assistance for food or for gas and electric deposit

The extreme economic marginality of these families transforms situations that are serious,but which under normal circumstances might be coped with, into major crises throughout the family. Marital relationships prove too brittle to endure the pressure of continual crises, large families, and not enough money. The persistent interplay between economic marginality and marital instability can be observed in the sequence of case openings of two case study women.

Mrs. Y	1st opening	- Husband out of jail and employed
	2nd	- Husband employed, but insufficient income to support
	3rd	- Husband abandoned. Wife unemployed and pregnant
Mrs. Z	1st opening	- Emergency assistance for gas and electric deposit
	2nd	- Husband out of work
	3rd	- Separated from husband. No income
	4th	- Woman underemployed - insufficient income
	5th	- Woman changing jobs. Delay in receiving first paycheck
	6th	- No support payments from husband

For many women, the most important step in freeing themselves from instability is to divorce their husbands. Mrs. X says that problems with her first husband were "mostly financial." She feels, "My husband took gambles he shouldn't have." He apparently felt that you "had to gamble to get ahead," and so he invested in things like buying an old farm though not coming from a farming background himself. Perhaps the most expensive adventure was his stock car racing. Not only did Mr. X buy his own car, but he also raced them. Mrs. X said his parents were furious with him because they knew he couldn't afford the cost of maintaining such a project. Getting ready to pass inspections cost hundreds of dollars. Despite these financial problems, he absolutely forbade his wife to work.

Mrs. K's husband was also prone to financial gambles. Unlike Mr. X, he did not forbid his wife to work. Instead he forced her to take jobs against her will. Mrs. K feels that she handles money well now that she has divorced her husband, but it was different when she was married. "If I had the money, bills got paid; when he had the money, bills didn't get paid. We kept our money separate, but he often spent his on things we didn't need like magazines and cameras. My husband always insisted that I get a job even when he was earning enough money so I didn't have to work. We always had to have extra money for things for him. I remember in one state he found me a job in a rag factory and insisted I take it. This was because he felt that I should help support the family and also that we needed the money so he could pay for a hi-fi set. I just accepted this." Mr. K also attempted to set up his own business. Mrs. K says she quit her waitressing job to help her husband sep up the shop. "Then he took off for the south again and left me holding the shop all by myself." Mrs. K continued to manage the store until Mr. K returned four months later. Within a few more months, however, he had decided to move the family to another state.

Although many working welfare mothers preferred to raise their families without the disruptive fource of an unhappy marriage, others decided to remain together, "for better for for worse." The women in our sample who are still living with their first husbands tend to hold "traditional" attitudes towards their roles as wives and mothers. Both they and their husbands usually agree that a woman's place should be in the home caring for the family. In most cases, caring for the family also implies attending to the needs of a husband who is unemployed due to ill health of some sort. Mrs. N and Mrs. Q both fit what might be called the "Failed Patriarchy" pattern.

Both Mrs. N and Mrs. Q are first generation, central European immigrants who are over fifty years old, lacking in education and skills, still having difficulty speaking English. The fact that they both had their first children so late in life further differentiates them from many of the other women in the sample. Both husbands feel close to their wives and family and are unlikely to desert them. Mr. Q does not speak English well and has been unemployed since an accident about ten years ago.

He feels that he is a burden on the family and tries to keep busy doing housework and watching T.V. He says, "Now I'm disabled. I'm willing to work but I can't and am very unhappy." When asked what he would be doing if he could have any kind of job he wanted, he replied, "Anything" and that he would work even if he were guaranteed an adequate income "just for pleasure."

Mr. N is also currently unemployed. He lost his most recent job because he had three accidents within eighteen months. His work record shows a history of being laid off, fired, and rehired for short periods of time. The welfare files indicate that he has been an alcoholic for the past ten years. He has signed himself into the state rehabilitation center twice in the past two years. The caseworker said that he gets depressed over not being able to find work.

Despite the obvious seriousness of the husband's condition, the interviews with Mrs. revealed little bitterness on her part towards her husband. She currently works part time as a charwoman in return for a free apartment. She is still recovering from a recent operation. Her husband is strongly opposed to her working and she has never directly threatened him by going outside of the home for employment when he was unable to earn enough to support the family. However, it is mainly through her efforts that the family has managed to get along. For nine years she did ironing in her home and organized quite a large business. It was not until her operation that she stopped working and the family had to go onto welfare for a longer peiod of time than usual. Prior to that they had only gotten help for specific bills. At this stage in their relationship, it seems likely that the family will remain together whether or not Mr. N's problems with alcoholism continue.

B. Marital Solidarity

In describing the effects of a husband's instability on a woman's work and welfare history we have stressed primarily the disruption and turmoil many women encountered in their marriages. The women in the "Failed Patriarchy" pattern, however, suggest that in some families the marital relationship may continue to provide a source of support and emotional comfort despite economic hardships. Mr. W has not been able to work for over twenty years due to a heart condition. His income of $170 per month comes largely from Social Security payments. The rent is paid by Old Age Assistance and food stamps provide an additional supplement. The family's financial situation has improved as the children have grown and left home. Mrs. W has never worked and Mr. W says that her "having seven children made it out of the question." Theirs is a religious family. They feel that "if you have faith in the teachings of Christ and accept them personally then He will be your salvation." He says he has "learned to accept life as it is" and that religion is "the vital part of our happiness."

As with many older couples, the children are a continuing source of pride and interest. They also seem to enjoy living in the country and take pride in their home. Mr. W keeps well occupied with his gardening, reading, and writing. During the summer months, they maintain a large and productive garden, from which Mrs. W cans vegetables for winter. Mrs. W keeps busy baking on a coal stove, washing in her wringer washer, sewing things for grandchildren and reading the Bible. Several years ago a caseworker suggested that the family might move from their isolated country home so that Mrs. W could go to work. She went to one evening class concerning "women re-entering the world of work" and came home convinced that neither she or her husband wanted her to take a job. Apparently, no further pressure was placed on the family. There is little doubt that her employment would have upset much of the marital stability they have managed to achieve.

The case of the Q family where Mr. Q was injured and unemployed provides a good example of the way in which a wife's employment can threaten and disrupt marital solidarity. Mrs. Q feels that "most men probably don't like the idea of a wife working because they are supposed to be the breadwinners." When asked how a husband is likely to feel if his wife works she answered, "He's likely to feel that the children suffer and that he should be helping to support the family." Her working has clearly had an effect within her own family. When asked on the questionnaire the percentage of time things were going well between her and her husband she replied "never." He is "only a little satisfied" with the amount of time she spends with him and "not at all satisfied" with either his or her "current work status." On a "usual Sunday" she estimates that she spends a "few minutes" on the average "talking and doing things with her husband." On her day off, she estimates that they talk at most an hour.

On the decision-making items, she indicated that she has a lot more say on how money gets spent, what they do on an evening out, buying major appliances, disciplining children, and whether or not she worked. She reports that her working has given her "much more say" in family matters. She told the interviewer that she feels that her husband should have made some effort to find at least a part-time job over the last few years instead of putting the entire burden on her. She would be unhappy if she were not working, yet she also feels that the man should be the main provider. Although she appears to have a great deal of power in the family, it appears to have been an unwilled role responsibility which came at the expense of her marital relationship.

For most of the non-working women in our sample, employment would bear the cost of threatening often already fragile marriages. Among the steady workers who have continued to live with their husbands, it can become a continuous source of tension and reminder of the husband's failures. However, a steady income from her own job can also provide a woman with the confidence and financial independence necessary for her to take the constructive step of divorcing a husband who is disrupting the lives of her family.

IV. Parental Relationship

A. Adjustment to the Maternal Role

For most of the women in our sample, the birth of the first child was an unexpected, unwanted, and unplanned for event. Mrs. C, for instance, is a very ambitious, dynamic woman who was married when her first child was a few months old, separated after the next child a year later, and then had five more children by someone else before she began living with the man who was to father her next children. Now with twelve children, she realizes and says that she would never have had so many children if she had known how to prevent it and jokingly comments now that "I tell my husband if I have another child, we'll be rich because I can sue the pill company." She has come to contraception after fourteen pregnancies, yet her own daughters continue to have children out-of-wedlock. One daughter already has four out-of-wedlock children.

There is little doubt that many of these women are totally unprepared emotionally to accept the responsibility of children when they themselves are adolescents without the support of husbands or family. Mrs. R's story is a good example of a woman who had essentially two opportunities to raise a family - once during early adolescence, and again during middle age. Mrs. R was "somewhere in the middle" of a family of thirteen. She quit school at fifteen. At sixteen she was married, a decision she has always regretted. Like many other women in our sample, she had hoped it would be an escape. "My family was disintegrating - my mother and father had problems - so I got married. It was mostly because of the problems at home."

She was pregnant during the first few years of her marriage. "My first child was born before I turned eighteen; thirteen months later another was born. Then I had a girl born premature and died the day after." She was then "sent to a sanitarium for a rest cure" for several months. She says she "didn't want to stay away from my kids" and "just walked out" one day. She adds that she shouldn't have left though "because I just got pregnant again." Although she was not happy to be pregnant again, she was equally distressed when she discovered that her physician had taken matters into his own hands. When the doctor found out that I was pregnant, he sent me back to the hospital to have an operation - got rid of that one - I had an abortion. They didn't ask me or anything. They said it was for my health since I lost so much blood from the girl. I felt just terrible about it though. After the operation, they sent me back to the sanitarium but I only stayed two months."

Throughout this time, her children were boarded with a practical nurse and the children "were young enough to think she was their mama." After returning from the sanitarium she reports having "a few miscarriages in the next couple of years."

Throughout her first marriage her young husband was periodically absent. Mrs. R took a very dangerous job. Despite her poor health, she worked for two years in dangerous conditions. She adds, "It was a dangerous job, they had dynamite in them, you know one man got blowed up, but it didn't bother me and they paid extra." Her day care arrangements, however, were no longer satisfactory. "While I was in the factory, a girl lived in to care for the boys. She was a teenager and I guess they told her to get a job and take care of herself or they'd put her away. So I gave her a job. But my husband began paying her and buying her things and jewelry so it almost didn't pay for me to work."

Mrs. R did eventually quit her job, not because of "that girl" but because she was pregnant again. During this period, her husband moved the family to another state. She reports living "up on a mountain where there was no water or transportation and the wind blew right through that house."

Her husband deserted the family again leaving her alone with the children. These early years were full of poor health because of pregnancy, hard work on exhausting jobs, physical battles with a husband, constant moves and serious depressions.

Later Mrs. R remarried and began raising another family. By the time she had three additional children by her new husband her first sons were grown married men. She has not worked since she began raising this second family. It is clear that she has felt much more like enjoying her motherhood at this point in her life. She says, "At my age, I like to be at home with the kids, and I have plenty to do around the house so I don't miss working. When I was a bit younger I liked to get out of the boredom and work, especially when the boys got to that age where they had their own things to do." Although Mrs. R's second family is not entirely free from problems, it is clear that she finds a great deal more pleasure and involvement in the maternal role at this stage in her life. She realizes that she was not prepared to cope with motherhood during her adolescence and in retrospect gave the following advice to the "girl next door" who appeared to be making the same "mistake.":

> "Now a person who's going to keep having babies and not caring for them should be sterilized. I'd rather see that than an abortion. I figure that if the good Lord put it there, I should leave it alone. That's why I felt so terrible when they gave me one. You know, they have ways now to stop having children and people should know about them. There should be more ways to learn about them, too. Now I myself can't have anymore - no dear! I've had my menopause, but those who can should be careful. I think if I knew about ways of not having children when I was young, I would've liked to have only four children. Having children is a good thing, they give you something to work for, but then they can hurt parents and don't appreciate you."

Mrs. R's story and advice present a clear plea for the need for adequate family planning information. Few of these women were adequately prepared for the responsibilities of motherhood, and most were not prepared to face these burdens so early in life. Attitudes towards the maternal role generally found the non-working women feeling most strongly that they were needed at home with their children. Often they feel that once they have completed raising their families they have accomplished their major task in life and they deserve a "well earned rest." Mrs. W experienced such feelings when the caseworker suggested she take a job at age fifty-four after raising seven children.

Periodic workers tend to feel quite strongly that when their children were young, they should be at home. Mrs. X, for instance, has recently quit the only job she has ever held due to the birth of a child from her second marriage.

The sporadic workers in our sample all have pre-schoolers in the home but are working. Most, however, are only working part time because the strain of full-time work would be too great while their children are young. The women in this group are working primarily because they are the only support for their families and they also have a desire to spend some time outside the home. Such women do not feel that the maternal role alone could completely satisfy their needs at this point in their lives. Mrs. C, for instance, is an articulate, strong-minded community aide who has worked regularly for the past thirteen years. During this period, she has held four different jobs and left only to move, have a baby, or a sudden crises (i.e., the death of her little son). She has a tremendous vitality and ambition for herself that cannot be gratified through the maternal role alone. While there were pre-schoolers in the home, she managed to participate in a training program, take driving lessons, and actively participate in church and community affairs.

Among the steady workers we find more variation in attitudes towards the maternal role. Generally, they have had fewer pregnancies to cope with and have smaller families. Some women, like Mrs. Q, feel that their working has deprived them of what should be their rightful place in the home with their children. Others have children who are all in school, and find that work is less of a burden and often a source of satisfaction. In nearly all the cases of women who have tried to work while having young children in the home, there have been periods in which employment made coping and adjusting to the maternal role while in conditions of poverty, even more unbearable.

B. Child-rearing Practices

Since few of the women in our sample had happy relationships with the men in their lives, their children often are their greatest source of pleasure and satisfaction - and therefore, also the objects of their greatest concerns. Most of these mothers are very child-oriented and "middle class" in terms of their expressed concerns that their children "keep straight","don't spend foolishly and lead happier and more successful lives than their parents. Their ability to implement their goals are often seriously hampered. We find no consistent differences among our work type groups with regard to adequacy of child-rearing practices. It is clear, however, that there is a great range among our group with regard to making provision or having the facilities to provide for even the most basic of their children's physical needs - food and clothing.

Mrs. T, a non-worker, has never had to confront the problems of day care because she has always been in the home. Nonetheless, her level of functioning in many cases has proven detrimental to the welfare of her children. It is evident that Mrs. T loves her children and wants the best for them even if the family is unable to provide for them as she would like. Mr. T says that they have done without many things for the children's sake. "In eighteen years I've been married, I've only had two pairs of shoes." However, Mr. T leaves most of the child-rearing responsibility up to his wife and does not support her in her decisions. Mrs. T says,"I scream at these kids all day to help around the house and they don't do anything." She feels that her children are out of her control. "With nine people living here, something is happening every minute and everything seems a mess." All of the children in the family have serious problems either emotionally, physically, in school or with the law. One son is an epileptic who has had severe seizures since the age of one. He went without treatment for thirteen years as a result of his mother's ignorance. One has been seriously ill and was hospitalized for malnutrition. The doctor refused to allow the baby to be returned to his parents. After his release, he was placed in a foster home for a time. In the case of the T family, the problems seem due less to neglect than to simple ignorance.

Other mothers are faced with raising children in an extremely hazardous environment. Houses are often full of fire hazards, with shaky electric wiring. Yards may have open wells, half-decayed buildings, and empty refrigerators. J. Fitchen, in her report on the families of "Road Junction" dramatically makes the point that the potential dangers children grow up in are such that many women are realistic in feeling reluctant to leave their children home alone in the care of others while they are away working. Although this reflects in part the kind of external discipline which often does not train children to internalize and control their own behaviors in dangerous situations, the threats of accidents or injuries to young children is an omnipresent one. Several children in our case study families had been killed during the past few years due to freak accidents.

Among working women we find nearly all having some complaint concerning care for their children in their absence. A sporadic work pattern is often due in part to a mother's inability to get reliable day care. Periodic workers commonly report some dramatic occurance relating to their children which made them decide to quit work and stay at home for the sake of their children. Although classified as a steady worker due to her long history of employment, the case of Mrs. D provides a case in point of the ways in which problems with children can effect a woman's work status.

Soon after giving birth, Mrs. D stopped relying on kin for child care due to a move. She no longer felt secure about her arrangements, particularly when she found that her sitter was a heavy drinker who "showed favoritism." Her discovery that the woman was refusing to feed or show any attention at all to one of her sons led her to change both to a new house and job (the sitter was her landlady). Her next sitter was a young girl who "couldn't handle the kids" and would "get locked in the closet by the children." When she was dismissed, it became the oldest boys job to take care of the children. At this point, however, the oldest son was brought to court for involvement with delinquent activity which suggests that he may have been a less than adequate caretaker.

At this stage in her life, Mrs. D was urged by a counselor from a social agency that it might be better for her family if she took a less responsible type job (she was in an office position) and settled for a waitressing position instead. Mrs. D compromised by quitting her job to work as a clerk for a smaller company. She described this particular period as the "worst time in my life." She was accused of embezelling money and went to court.

After two years, she won the case but she feels that the whole episode had a bad effect on her children and self.

During this period, her son dropped out of school because of "headaches," loss of interest, and delinquency patterns. He was sent to a state institution and later to another one. Soon after he returned home he was in trouble with the school principal, and not much later he was picked up for loitering. Mrs. D changed to a job with different working hours during the period while her son was home.

Two major events revolving around her children led to her instability. One of her sons was recently killed in an accident. Her own response to this tragedy combined with recent serious behavior problems on the part of her other son, in addition to a recent operation, led Mrs. D to quit her job and stay at home for a while. The remaining son has refused to attend school since his brother's death and has become seriously withdrawn. Mrs. D has since returned to work, but her schedule allows her to eat lunch regularly with her son (on the recommendation of the school psychologist.) She also brings him to work with her every evening, where he watches T.V. while she waits on tables. Although there are clearly many factors influencing Mrs. D's unstable work history, it is clear that her worker role is often in conflict with what she feels her responsibilities as a mother are. Her great shame at the thought of accepting welfare, further complicates all of her attempts to establish priorities in her responsibilities.

The case of Mrs. D is not an unusual one. Many other women in our sample report similar dramatic occurences revolving around children, which led them to change jobs or stop working. Mrs. K finally refused to continue working when she discovered that her husband was having incestuous relations with the children while she was out at her job. Another decided to work fewer hours when she found that her child was suffering from serious mental retardation, and she would be needed to take him around for therapy and teach him special skills.

It is clear that caring for children is a serious problem in the lives of our working welfare mothers. An additional problem related to child care concerns the personal recognition of need for quality day care on the part of these women. One of the consequences of the lack of preparation for child-rearing discussed under maternal role adjustment, we think, is a lack of awareness of those things that are important in the development of a child and which should therefore be pursued. The problem is further compounded by the fact that many poor women are also day care mothers and, therefore, are unlikely to be aware of the kind of care (other than custodial) that they could and should be giving.

According to New York State law, all day care homes caring for three or more children must be licensed. However, one of the primary problems is that of lacking the means to enforce the law so that women become licensed who are not qualified, and there are no means to prevent mothers from using unlicensed homes if they choose to do so. The licensing requirements themselves are largely based on an evaluation of the physical plant in which the children are cared for, though some attention is paid to the woman's attitudes and manner of relation to the children.

Observation of one of our case study women, Mrs. F, cast some doubt about the extent or rigorousness of the supervision. Mrs. F, who has been a licensed day care mother for several years, lives in a dilapidated shingle home with cracked plaster walls and gaping holes in the ceiling. She is quite satisfied with her current occupation and says that it is the best job she has ever had. Her welfare files contain the note that one child died of pneumonia while under her care. Several additional complaints have been received concerning her treatment of the children.

Seven children are in her care, for whom she charges $20 per week. Up until her day care job, Mrs. F had worked sporadically as a domestic since she was sixteen. She says it didn't matter much that she quit school since she's "not very much in the brain department anyhow." Most of the children seemed afraid of her and stayed quietly away from her in a bare-floored, toyless room in another section of the house. Mrs. F spends most of her day watching T.V. or chatting with a friend or neighbor. Mrs. F's own children suggest that there may have been some serious deficiencies in her child-rearing practices. One of her sons has had a "nervous breakdown." In part this appears due to her husband as well as herself. "His father wrecked him; he saw his brother and me beaten so much that he couldn't stand to see any violence at home, or on T.V., or even in coloring books. If I spanked the other children, he would go wild. For two years I couldn't spank him and I couldn't let him see me cry." The children of other working welfare women are in the care of Mrs. F. Available evidence suggests that her supervision may be inadequate and perhaps even detrimental.

This illustration of Mrs. F may also point out the second important aspect of the day care problem mentioned above. First is the lack of awareness on the part of lower-class mothers and their surrogates of what things are important and possible in the care of children. Second, a corollary, is a lack of awareness of (or control over) the relationship between their own behavior and things in their physical and social environment and their effects on the children under their care. One could not conclude from talking to these case study women that lack of day care facilities has been the only factor in keeping them from seeking employment or from holding jobs. Rather they have often taken jobs and then made arrangements for their children as best they could. A mother of twelve children stated, "It was easier to care for them myself than to take them to a babysitter, pick them up, and then have to pay her, too." All too often taking care of them "myself" means leaving them on their own at young ages or under incompetent care.

One further example from the day care mothers included in our case study sample, should illustrate the need for these women to receive training and supervision. Mrs. Y, particularly loves caring for babies and very young children, a statement corroborated by the case study interviewer observing her warmth in relating to the children. Her own brief experience with child care when her children were babies was extremely unsatisfactory. Although Mrs. Y had an aunt who watched her children during the days whenever she could, she often had to hire babysitters - usually teenagers. The teenagers were extremely unreliable. They brought their boyfriends over, played havoc with the food budget by raiding the refrigerator, and left the house a mess. After a serious incident of neglect, Mrs. Y hired only older women, "but they charged me twice as much. It wasn't paying me to work."

Somewhere between babyhood and their teenage years, Mrs. Y completely lost control of her own children. Of her five children, already two girls have had children out of wedlock, one child is on probation as a wayward minor, and a son was given a sentence to a reform school for stealing. She now states that she wishes that she had never had any children because of her inability to cope with these teenagers. With our limited knowledge, it is impossible to apportion responsibility for the behavior of her own children. Because she is now caring for four other infants for most of their waking hours, however, it becomes important to know in what ways her own behavior may affect the development of these children.

C. Children's Functioning and Adjustment

Few of our case study families have managed to escape having some serious difficulty relating to their children's functioning or adjustment. The problems found among case study children include congenital defects, mental retardation, physical deformities, serious illnesses like epilepsy, and malnutrition, many problems appear to relate back to the mother's own physical condition during pregnancy. Other problems do not show up until the children begin school. Learning disabilities, truancy, failures, suspensions are common behavioral manifestations, particularly among boys. Among older children signs of maladjustment are found in the several cases of imprisonment, reform school, AWOL from the armed services; alcoholism, homosexuality, emotional difficulties, out-of-wedlock pregnancies, incest, and so on.

Obviously, we cannot relate all of these misfortunes back to the adequacy of parenting or whether or not the mother ever worked. In fact, there are no consistent differences among the various work types with regard to the level of their children's functioning. Perhaps the first, and most basic observation which should be stressed is the extent to which so many of these children raised in poverty and in unhappy and disruptive families reflect in their behaviors a desperate cry for help and a need for some kind of physical and emotional security after years of turbulence. There is no doubt that many of these children are suffering from years of neglect. The fact that their parents loved them desperately and wanted only the best for them could not always compensate for the children's perception of neglect. The mothers and fathers in our cases were often so overwhelmed with other problems in their lives that they could not meet their children's needs. Although some parents also took their own frustrations and rages out on their children, most tried to shield them from hardships as best they could.

The desire to "protect" their children, combined with the lack of a strong father figure often led to serious difficulties for many mothers in disciplining their children. In some cases, one of the few sources of authority and power a woman had over her children was due to her employment. When she, rather than welfare was in the position of distributing the few rewards which could be bought among the family, she was in a far stronger position.

Strict discipline is uniformly both a goal and a problem for these mothers. They quote very rigid rules and regulations regarding how late their children may stay out at night, what friends they may go around with, where they may go, and note with apparent pride how little say their children have in these decisions. Mrs. J became very upset in relating to the interviewer that her caseworker recommended that a fifteen-year old girl should be allowed to stay out until midnight while she herself felt that eleven was late enough.

Their greatest fears about the effects of their work on their children are that their "strictness" and their children's "behavior" will be adversely affected when they are "not around to manage them." Despite their claims about the tightness of their control over their children, however, many of these children are already completely out of control, according to the mothers who complain: "They don't listen to a thing I say;" "They don't tell me nothin';" "He's totally uncontrollable;" and according to concrete evidence of delinquency provided by welfare records. Another mother expressed her disappointment in her daughters because "They went wandering and picked up a package along the way." In these cases, the mothers can only shake their heads in despair and bewilderment or speak of the influence of "bad crowds" or "The teacher has it in for my girl" as an explanation for why these things have happened.

These women believe that parents should not impose a future on their children, yet they are unable to provide them with the guidance and personal examples necessary for the children to make wise choices. The mothers stress the importance to the interviewer of education for their children, for example, yet most of their children are doing poor to average school work and show a lack of interest in school. When asked whether her fifteen year old daughter would graduate from high school, Mrs. J replied that "she probably would" thought her current grades are "mostly D." As for her plans after high school, Mrs. J has "no idea, though she once spoke of teaching and writing."

In a different kind of example, mothers were asked about their own behavior in a hypothetical situation where a woman's teenaged daughter told her that she was pregnant. One interview reports that:

> Mrs. C has very definite feelings about what would happen if one of her daughters got pregnant. She said that the girl would definitely have the baby, she would definitely learn to care for it, definitely stay here, and since she is too young to work, definitely finish her education.

In fact, however, one of Mrs. C's daughters has already had four children out-of-wedlock and has completed only junior high school.

Mrs. C provides an important illustration of the idea that the ADC dependency problem is only secondarily a problem of employment. Despite bearing twelve children, Mrs. C has always been a steady worker in very low-level jobs, both because she enjoys working and because she has never been able to count on support from a husband. Within the past five years, she has completed a practical training course and now has a relatively good paying job as a community worker. This combined with that of her current husband is now sufficient to support the seven children remaining at home and the family is off welfare for the first time in twelve years.

Although Mrs. C has been a long-term sporadic worker, has sought out and completed additional job training, and is now supporting her family independent of public assistance, one must note that she feels that her four oldest children are all worse off than when she was their age because they have had children much younger than she did.

One daughter was working at a local factory but quit because the work was too hard. Mrs. C said that she had the skills to get a better job but hasn't yet. Another daughter also works at a factory, which Mrs. C can't understand because she can type and could get a better job. The fourth is married and just stopped working because she couldn't find someone to care for her baby. Mrs. C said that this latter one is the only one with her initiative as far as getting training goes - that she was thinking of being a nurse, but hasn't yet.

She said that her children want to be independent, but they don't really have the skills. Somehow, by the time these mothers have gained the experience and wisdom to conquer their own problems, their children have all encountered the same problems for themselves without the benefit of that experience.

These illustrations of the difficulties that some of these women have coping with their children make clear the complexity involved in any attempt to assess the impact of a mother's working on herself and upon her children. The question of the impact on the children is particularly difficult to evaluate since most of the data was obtained through the eyes of the mother. For how are we to distinguish the reported effects of work from the frequently encountered problems of the lack of a father figure, or worse, a very negative father figure; inadequate child care arrangement or poor child care even when the mother is supposedly caring for her own children; poor housing and poor neighborhoods. The following additional cases illustrate the complexities and ambiguities in both these sets of questions.

Mrs. B is the mother of ten children, the last four born during an intermittent common law marriage. She is classified as a periodic worker and has worked for much of her life at odd housekeeping jobs. Most of her time, however, has been spent at home raising her children and being involved in activities at a neighborhood center, P.T.A., and being a children's organization leader. Largely because of her work with voluntary groups, she has recently sought out and trained for a fairly high status position as a para-professional, a job that she enjoys very much. Despite these activities, however, she is an extremely unhappy person with very low self-esteem.

Although she likes her job, Mrs. B states that her children suffer from her working. In her opinion, her children's school work, behavior, happiness and grooming as well as the time she spends with them and her strictness are all "somewhat worse" as a result of her working. Their responsibility and the "amount they are on their own" are also "much worse" in her opinion. Her case worker notes that despite the fact that Mrs. B has always been at home with her children, her daughter is pregnant out of wedlock, and a son is soon to appear in family court as a juvenile delinquent. This case worker observes that Mrs. B exhibits concern for her children but had a difficult time coping with them. She feels that having a job and being away from them for eight hours a day may be of benefit to both Mrs. B and her children.

In assessing the effects of employment on children's functioning and adjustment, the most crucial variable appears to be the mother's own satisfaction with her roles in life. We have cited several cases of mothers who were home full time and whose children actually appeared to suffer from her presence. For other women, employment provided a new source of self-esteem that carried over into their child-rearing practices, giving them additional authority and confidence in dealing with their children. On the other hand, women who bitterly resented being employed were far likelier to make demands on their children to help out around the house. Mrs. C, who enjoys working and openly admits that it's "for her own good," adds that she's probably "easier" on making her children take responsibilities because she doesn't want them to "suffer" because she's out working for her own "satisfaction." There is no doubt that many of the children in our sample have "suffered" a great deal. Whether the presence of their mother in the home more frequently could have significantly alleviated or prevented their problems is difficult to determine.

D. Family Solidarity

For many of the single parent families in our sample, feelings of solidarity could only begin to develop after the father finally left the home permanently. Prior to that, families like the V's or the F's were constantly disrupted by marital arguments, beatings, or constant moves. Many of the mothers report feeling much closer to their children after they began living alone.

Several of the children in our sample were urged by school psychologists to seek mental health counseling at the local clinic. For many mothers this has meant a new involvement with their children which has led to stronger feelings of attachment. Mrs. D reports that she and her son have become "much closer" since the death of his brother.

Although Mrs. E works full time, since she began working she has made a determined effort to allot periods of time each day just to be alone with her two children. She feels it is especially important for them to do and share things together now that she is working and their father is not living with them. They often cook things together or work on craft projects like making wreathes. They do things like go ice skating, roller skating and swimming. Mrs. E feels that she and her children have become more involved with each other now than at any point before in their lives.

Families like the W's, in which the father is present but unemployed due to a disability can also be drawn together in mutual response to their economic crises. Particularly when the mother can maintain her sense of respect for her husband and helps him to preserve a sense of dignity and worth, the children develop strong ties to the family. The Q family provides a sad contrast. There's an "empty shell" existence in which bitterness and resentment has reduced interaction to the minimum. In this home, the mother's employment is a major obstacle to family solidarity.

V. Health Status and Practices

Health is a major obstacle to full-time employment and a significant factor in accounting for sporadic work patterns. Among the non-workers, three of the women would find it difficult to work due to weight problems alone (they all weigh over two hundred pounds). Mrs. T has attempted to work only once in her life. For two months, she was employed as a cleaning woman. She enjoyed the work and says that she originally took the job "because the doctor recommended it." However, she found that her feet became swollen from all of the climbing and standing and she had to quit. Along with most of the other non-working women, she has also suffered from several miscarriages, experienced complicated pregnancies, and has a history of other medical problems including diabetes and gall bladder infections.

Many of the working women report injuries due to their employment. Mrs. F was scalded while working as a domestic. Mrs. U reports having a slipped disc and back broblems due to heavy loads she had to lift while working in a laundry. Mrs. E complains of hand infections arising from her work washing test tubes in a laboratory.

For several of the steady workers, health problems loom over them, and they may soon find employment impossible. Mrs. Q has had back trouble off and on and has also suffered from an ulcer and pneumonia. Each time she has left a job, it has been mainly because of poor health. Mrs. D and Mrs. N have both had serious operations and Mrs. E, a younger woman is awaiting diagnosis. Mrs. I has been hospitalized for a heart condition and reports a long history of early deaths due to heart attacks.

Among the husbands in our sample, health is also the major impediment to employment. Back injuries and heart conditions have made several men permanently disabled and often in need of attention by wives. For men like Mr. L. the problem is likely to remain a periodic one. He had a severe injury on his job. When it healed, further complications arose. In all, Mr. L was out of work for over a year. He also has a back problem. His doctors have told him that his problem may recur and keep him from holding a job involving any physical exertion. Mr. T reports a similar pattern, but is older and has experienced more years of unemployment. He first injured himself on a job. He changed his job but after nine months reinjured his back and was warned by his doctor to avoid any kind of heavy work. Since then, he has been unemployed.

Serious emotional problems prove equally as incapacitating. One man used to work on the highways doing road work. His wife reports that even though he seemed to enjoy it, "It wasn't any good for him - he didn't get enough sleep and had an emotional breakdown. He just turned against everyone." Since that time he has been unemployed. He is currently bedridden.

Equally serious health conditions are reported for many of the children in our sample. Several children have suffered due to their parents ignorance of their need for help. One child experienced severe epileptic seizures for thirteen years and another had severe headaches without attention. A few mothers resist treatment for their children with speech defects or mental retardation because of embarrassment over the condition. Mrs. T's child was removed from the home due to his malnutrition.

Particularly tragic are the children suffering from problems stemming from emotional problems caused by unstable home lives. Two of the children in the K family are receiving mental health counseling. School psychologists attribute part of the difficulty to the incestuous relations the father had with the children while the mother was working. She says, After I stopped blaming myself I woke up and saw what he had really done. I took the children to a pediatrician and had him examine them and he confirmed what they had told me. When I confronted my husband with it, he admitted it." The father had threatened the children by saying that he would divorce their mother if they told. They have since been separated.

The youngest son in the F family had a "nervous breakdown" due to years of watching his father beating his mother and brother. Mrs. F reported that for years this boy couldn't stand to see any violence at home, or on T.V., or"even in coloring books." The children in the S family show symptoms of suffering from living with a mother who is mentally unstable. Mrs. S appears to be suffering from a form of paranoia. She stays alone in the house for weeks on end, sending the children out for groceries. Her daughter is receiving counseling because of acute fears.

Although the symptoms and severity vary, it is clear that the physical and emotional health of many of our case study family members is under a tremendous strain. Scattered throughout our analysis are illustrations of the extreme fragility of what little stability these individuals may find in a life of poverty and turbulence. Children cry at coloring books, refuse to get out of bed, and fear ghosts. Teenagers become addicts, burn property, and get pregnant. Fathers resort to alcohol or collapse in mental exhaustion. Mothers beat their children, attempt suicide, or take overdoses of cough medicine. The symptoms of despair in turn become further sources of difficulty in life and contribute to what in many cases appears to be an unending cycle of suffering.

VI. Homemaking

A. Physical Facilities and Homemaking Responsibilities

For many of the unemployed women in our sample, the responsibilities of running a home are overwhelming. Not only are they faced with caring for large families, but often the resources available to them are inadequate. Mrs. J for instance, prepares meals for a family of sixteen plus frequent guests using a coal stove to economize on electricity. She appears to have given up on any attempts to serve the family together. The interviewer observed the younger children coming and going in the kitchen apparently fixing themselves sandwiches whenever they got hungry. She says it's hard getting them all together for a meal. "One's going out and the other's not hungry or something comes up." In general, the grooming and cleanliness of the children also seem to be left entirely up to each individual rather than supervised by Mrs. J. The result is that the younger children are dressed in dirty clothing and appeared to the interviewer to be "quite filthy."

For many of the women in our sample, employment was out of the question when their children were young. Simply purchasing food for large families can become a serious problem when living in a rural area with unreliable transportation. Homes are often lacking in adequate plumbing, hot water, or reliable facilities for cooking. Interiors are frequently deteriorating, with gaping holes and broken windows. Simply keeping order with a large family for many women appears to be more than a full-time job. The depressing physical surroundings, however, decreases their incentive

The general level of living conditions and home responsibilities tend to be better for the steady workers. However, there is a great range in the living conditions found in our sample. While some families are obviously living in "poverty," others live in tidy apartments.which give the appearance of being professionally decorated. Mrs. E, for instance, designed and made for her daughter's bedroom.

B. Homemaking Practices

Do working women get more assistance from their families, or is their employment merely an additonal burden on top of everything else? The answer depends primarily on the way in which the woman and her family define her role as worker. In the Q family, it is understood that Mrs. Q has stepped in as the breadwinner. In return, Mr. Q is expected to take over many of the household chores traditionally considered "women's work." She reports that "he does the shopping and searches around for the best bargain." Although Mr. Q is not happy with this arrangement, he feels he has to accept it in return for Mrs. Q's shouldering his responsibilities.

Mr. K essentially forced his wife to work and support the family while he remained at home in good health but unemployed. His main contribution in relieving Mrs. K's burdens at home were to "force" the children to help out around the house, preparing his meals or doing the shopping. Welfare records indicate that the home was generally in a state of disorder. Moving twenty-two times further added to the disorganization. Mrs. K herself was never much for trying to keep things up. She says, "There have always been too many things I wanted to get out and do for me to be real good at taking care of the house."

Women without husbands or older children to depend on are particularly likely to suffer from the double burdens of home and job. Women who feel they are working for their own personal satisfactions, like Mrs. C, often feel strongly that their children should not suffer because of their employment. Mrs. C says, "I probably let my kids get away with doing less than if I was just staying at home all day." Mrs. E makes a similar comment, but says she gives them little tasks to do to "teach them responsibility" rather than to provide her with any significant assistance.

Although Mrs. B feels that her "housekeeping has suffered" since she began working, her case worker thinks it has stayed about the same. Rooms are cluttered with old clothes, dirty dishes, empty bottles, and a variety of bugs running across the barbage strewn floor. Mrs. B makes no apologies about the condition of her home saying, "people who don't like it, can leave." Her laundry is not done at home since her automatic washer broke down several months ago. With nine children, it piles up fast and she finds it hard to keep up with. She freely admits that she has never been one for cleaning, and says she is "just the opposite" of her mother whose house is "like a museum." For Mrs. B, whether working or not, "cleaning is last on the list. All I can do about it is worry."

For many of our more conscientious employed mothers, however, shopping, cleaning, and washing are something that simply "has to get done." This may mean staying up later in the evenings, watching less T.V. with their children, or trying hard to be more efficient. Mrs. X felt that when she was working she got a lot more accomplished in a shorter period of time. When the burdens and responsibilities are large, however, the women report fatigue with the "never-ending" amount they have to cope with. Without the assistance of husbands, children, or kin, housekeeping can be a serious source of anxiety for working women.

VII. Social Relationships - Kin and Friends

A. Social Relationships and Emotional Support

In examining background information of kin, we find two types of patterns among our cases. One might be called the "escape" pattern. Either due to a youthful rebellion or a "bad marriage" these women are downwardly mobile. They are particularly likely to be at a lower standard of living than their kin if they are divorced and trying to support themselves. Mrs. E's parents, for instance, have never received public assistance or felt the need for it. Her father was always regularly employed and still is. Were it not for the fact that her husband refuses to pay support payments regularly she would fit a suburban, middle-class housewife stereotype. In general, the women who fit into this pattern have many more personal resources to face a divorce with. They tend to be better educated, have fewer children, and more people to turn to in a time of need.

The second pattern fits the "cycle of poverty" stereotype and is the most common one in our sample. Mrs. V's mother, for instance, was an inmate in a state school when she gave birth to Mrs. V. She describes herself as "illegitimate" and has never known who her father was. She was brought up in a foster home from the age of four months to seven years. Then, suddenly her mother returned and took her to live with her. A few years later her mother was declared "unfit" as she was an alcoholic, and Mrs. V was sent back to the foster home. Several other women in our sample were raised in foster homes or describe themselves as "orphans." The same holds true for their husbands. Mrs. T reports that her family was "often on welfare." Her father mistreated her mother by beating her and forbidding her to go to a doctor when she was ill with diabetes Mr. T was raised in a foster home and does not remember his parents. Mrs. B and Mrs. C both fit the stereotype picture of welfare mothers as a "perpetual matriarchy." Both women were raised in mother-headed households which their fathers had deserted. They in turn have borne children and been abandoned by their husbands. Each woman also has a daughter who is beginning the same cycle.

For many of the women in our sample loneliness and isolation were crippling forces in their lives. Uprooted from areas they grew up in they are often on the move to escape bill collectors. Abandoned by their own parents and then by their husbands there are few people they can turn to. Mrs. V says, "So many bad things have happened to me, I just don't trust many people except my kids." Although Mrs. E has parents nearby, she says she misses having the kind of friend she could call and say, "Hey, let's do something tonight." She says, "Nobody can deny that it gets lonely when there aren't other adults around to talk to."

Husbands are often jealous and attempt to cloister their wives in the home. Mrs. X's first husband forbid either her or the children to go outside the yard around their isolated rural home. She says she kept from "going crazy" by babysitting for small children in her home whenever her husband would let her. Mr. K was also extremely possessive of his wife's time and attention. He urged her to put the children in foster homes and imposed restrictions on all her activities. Although she was often employed, this was her only escape. "I wasn't even supposed to go anywhere or do anything on my own. I couldn't even see the girls I worked with after work. I was supposed to come straight home, and we never had any friends."

Mothers and sisters are the likeliest individuals for these women to turn to. Mrs. C's mother has lived with her throughout two marriages and is a constant source of support. Mrs. B sees her mother daily but feels that she has "nothing in common" with her family although she is "close to them." She feels that she is the "bad one" in the family and that "I do everything wrong and they are right." Although she is active in the community, she does not feel that there are many people she could talk to about her problems.

B. Financial Support

Although few of the women in our study are as fortunate as Mrs. I and receive an "inheritance" from a relative, kin do often provide the kind of support and assistance that a welfare budget would not allow. Clothes for the children, for instance, get passed from sister to sister. Brothers come and fix the plumbing or make a needed repair on the car. Children eat lunch frequently at their cousin's house, and nieces sometimes help out around the house.

Female relatives are perhaps most commonly of assistance by providing convenient and cheap day care. Most of the women in our sample preferred leaving young children in the care of kin to any other type of care. This sort of arrangement generally proved to be more satisfactory to the mothers than hiring young girls or leaving them in the homes of day care mothers they didn't trust.

Knowing that there are kin to fall back on also allows a woman the freedom of changing jobs. Few of our steady workers "dared" to take the risk of leaving their job in hopes of finding one that they liked better. Even a few weeks without Mrs. Q's income or that of Mrs. V's or Mrs. I's would have left the family in serious economic difficulties. The women with a "sporadic" work history appear to have relied heavily on the assistance of kin between jobs. Mrs. E, for instance, lived with relatives several times while she was in the process of finding a job "with more opportunities." Mrs. T leaves jobs when she feels she is not "getting along" with her co-workers. When she is unemployed, she can "get by" with help from parents and brothers. Being able to leave an unsatisfactory job, is a luxury that having kin can help you afford.

VIII. Community Relationships

A. Use of Community Resources

Welfare case workers have acted as important referral service for nearly all of these women. The case of Mrs. F makes it clear that many mothers have worked for years without being aware that they were eligible for public assistance. Mrs. G. feels bitter over the fact that it was not until she was severely burned and her employer brought her to Social Services that she learned that she qualified for welfare. Other women, like Mrs. V, felt overwhelmed with the problems of trying to get her husband to send support payments regularly. She was relieved to discover that she could get regular checks through the Department of Social Services. Mrs. K wanted a divorce but did not know how to go about it until she was contacted by a case worker.

On the whole, school psychologists, family court, and the mental health clinic appear to have provided valuable assistance in diagnosing, alleviating, and avoiding the many serious problems which come up in these families. Although most of our illustrations have come from the women themselves, it seems clear that without these professionals many childrens' physical and emotional problems might have continued untreated. In the Health section we described several examples of children with unrecognized epilepsy or retardation. Other mothers resist such infavorable diagnoses and attempt to remove their children from special classes or speech therapy groups. Although the final decision remained in their hands, several women needed outside counseling and pressure before they dared to take the step of divorcing their husbands, even when he was obviously a danger to the family.

There are, of course, examples of professionals in the community who appear to have contributed to the turmoil in these families. Several women report feeling pressured to take jobs before they had recovered adequately from operations. Mrs. R will always resent bitterly the fact that she was given an abortion without her permission. Teachers are accused of harassing and discriminating against children unfairly. Although such examples should be pointed out, they should not overshadow the important and useful role these community services provided in these families lives. What hardly needs be said, however, is that not all the families who need assistance are reached.

Nearly all of the women in our sample expressed some interest in additional education or training. Few, however, could afford the time or meet the demands of the few programs available. The following cases of women who managed to get additional training captures the immensity of the obstacles and the rigidity on the part of the community that makes mobility for the poor very difficult. Mrs. C, who had been a welfare recipient for about twelve years, had just completed a practical training course and was offered an excellent job as a community aide. In order to take the job, however, she had to learn to drive. She had just gone off welfare and was supporting her many children but did not have extra money for a driver training course. Her request to the Department of Social Services was denied although its certain outcome would have been a much higher and more stable income. Fortunately, Mrs. C was a very determined woman who appealed the denial and successfully won a Fair Hearing from the State Social Services.

The experiences of Mrs. V sheds further light on problems that may be encountered even after undergoing training. She has been on and off welfare many times during the past six years as her husband has lost jobs, left her and failed to provide support. Throughout this time she has kept her full-time job as a service worker. As soon as he had left for good, she enrolled in night school (something he had always forbidden her to do) to get her high school diploma. She was successful in this and then began looking for other training possibilities that would enable her to get a better job and support her family independent of welfare. Her attempts to pass the postal examination and to complete a computer training course failed. Until a new clerical training course began during the past year her frequent trips to the Employment Service in search of other possibilities were always thwarted by the lack of training opportunities in the area. One must also note, however, that despite the lack of training programs in the area someone should have provided this woman with good vocational guidance at the time she got her diploma so that she could utilize her new academic skills in some better way than as a service worker. This opportunity was missed, however, and society as well as the individual paid the cost of needless welfare expenditures and under-utilized manpower resources.

Mrs. I, on the other hand, is a high school graduate with two additional years of business training. She only started working three years ago after all her children entered school. The family badly needed the extra money to pay off old bills and to supplement Mr. I's earnings as a clerk. Although Mrs. I has a large investment in education and training compared with most ADC women, she has not liked any of her jobs and strongly agrees with the statement that "to me work is nothing more than a way of making a living." She is not interested in training or job hunting and has no aspiration for a better job; she would prefer to be at home with her children.

We must also note, however, that Mrs. I's high school education and bookkeeper training have provided her with no financial payoff. Her current job, which uses her secretarial and bookkeeping skills pays exactly the same wages as an earlier job in a small local store. Her net income for a forty-hour work week is $55, far below what she needed to support herself and children when she was temporarily without her husband's support. In this case education plus skill, training plus a job clearly have not led to economic independence.

B. Contribution to the Community

Generally, the working women in our sample tended also to be more active in community affairs. Many of the factors that prevented non-working women from being employed are operative in keeping them isolated from interaction outside the home. With better health, fewer children, and greater feelings of independence, the working women appeared to have less hesitation and more resources for contributing to the community. Mrs. B obtained her current job through her volunteer activities. Mrs. X is active in children's groups and works for community affairs. Mrs. E was one of the original organizers of an adult group. Mrs. C has been active in her church and in local welfare rights organizations. Despite the burdens of employment and single parenthood, many of these women have tried to make a contribution to the community.

Few of the women, however, appear to be active in trying to bring about social change. Many of the non-workers appear to have given up any hopes for changing their conditions in their lifetimes. Younger working women were the likeliest to be aware of pending changes in legislation which might effect their lives, but most of the women in our sample had not voted in the last election. For many of the poorer rural women, or mothers with jealous husbands, involvement in clubs or organizations is out of the question. There are physical obstacles to their participation like transportation, money, shame over clothing, and lack of child care. More serious obstacles, however, seem to center around their own feelings of inadequacy and fright over confronting others who appear to be "making it" better in the world. For many, the few encounters they have had in the community have all been reminders of failure. Visits to family court, talks to school counselors, trips to the Department of Social Services, appointments with doctors for mental and physical problems, do little to help give a woman the confidence she may need to attend a P.T.A. meeting.

IX. Welfare and Family Finances

A. Welfare History and Patterns

All of the women in our sample have been on welfare during some period of time since 1969. The length of time for receiving assistance ranges from twenty years to seven months. Nearly all of the women have experienced some changes in their welfare status either with regard to the extent of their dependency or temporary closings. At the time of the last interview, nine of the families had stopped receiving welfare assistance. Only about half of these cases appear likely to remain permanently closed, however. In those cases the significant change in status was on the part of husbands not wives. Remarriage, reunion, and better health for the man made a difference.

Our family histories suggest that it is often illusory to assume that case closings resulting from either the husband or wife finding work necessarily constitutes a "transfer from ADC to gainful employment." The Table below briefly summarizes two types of welfare patterns:

Table 2 Case Closings for Twenty-five Families

N	Closings that proved to be temporary
16	Husband found work
9	Wife found work
10	Husband began sending support payments
1	Decreased needs - children move out or placed elsewhere
1	Emergency assistance only
2	Other source of income - Workmen's Compensation, Social Security, Inheritance
3	Technical reasons of Department
2	MDTA training completed, promise of self-support

N	"Permanent" Closings (1 year continuous)
1	Husband recovered from temporary health problem
1	Husband recovered from alcoholism and emotional problems
1	Family reunited, husband supporting
4	Remarriage - combined wages sufficient
1	Family moved out of county
1	Other source of income - OASI

Among our cases, employment is often a temporary state that will probably lead right back to welfare at some point not in the far future. The case of the K family, for instance, was closed six times due to the husband or the wife finding employment. Similarly, a husband who is now sending support payments may just as easily change his mind in the future. Although Mrs. X disliked going through welfare she decided it was better than the unpredictability of her husband's checks. One temporary closing offering real promise for the future, however, is that of Mrs. V who has currently completed her training for clerical work in a county where such workers are in high demand.

A close examination indicates that even the "permanent" closings listed are quite frail. Mr. N has a long history of alcoholism and has shown serious difficulties in holding a job. He signed himself into a state hospital for treatment and then joined AA when he got out. He has now been supporting his family for a year with no trouble, but at the price of working sixty hours a week driving a food truck. His wife has also been a bit of a silent partner helping to maintain their economic level by taking on domestic work and outside work in exchange for a free apartment. She has recently been incapacitated due to an operation which will seriously threaten their new-found stability if they lose the free apartment. In one case, finding a cheaper apartment meant the difference between self-support and public assistance; if this small amount could be so critical, however, one must assume that another small crisis could as easily send this woman back on assistance again.

The case closed for the longest time period perhaps best symbolizes the irony pervading many of these families lives. Mrs. Q had been on and off welfare several times in the past due to her husband's unstable work habits, illness, and marginal income. Only when her husband died and she began receiving regular adequate Social Security payments was she able to raise her family without assistance.

The cases of Mrs.I and Mrs. P provide an illustration of families whose use of welfare was for a very brief duration of less than a year. They are transients in the welfare population not only in terms of the resources in education, kin, work status, and number of children, but also in general attitudes. Mrs. I, for instance, had been separated for several months at the time of her first interview. During this period she changed jobs to find one with better pay and also began receiving welfare assistance. At the time of the re-interview about four months later, she was off welfare, reunited with her husband, and had received $5,000 in inheritance from the death of a relation.At the time of her separation, Mrs. I had no pre-schooler to worry about and already had a steady job. She had had past clerical experience, and with a twelfth grade education appeared to be in a good position to find a better job. She had never worked while her children were younger because her husband had always had a steady job. Her husband is currently employed in a high paying construction job and she gets &350 a month. Their combined earnings bring them well above a poverty level. They live in their own home and have only moved once in the past ten years. She describes her brief period on welfare as "the most difficult time of my life." She is hardly characteristic of a working welfare mother with regard to the resources available to her from all sources. The case of the P family is similar in that the need for assistance was only during the time the father was temporarily incapacitated due to an accident. Otherwise his earnings were quite adequate, and once he recovered, the family was likely to remain off welfare.

It is clear that remarriage often provides an escape from welfare dependency as in the cases of Mrs. X and also Mrs. C. The women, however, are often ambivalent about this as an alternative. Marriages that were themselves often an escape from a dreary home life, and too many children too soon were often the "causes" of the marginal situations in which these women later found themselves.

A case study interviewer notes such feelings when she comments:

> She spoke of how happy they were when they first got married. (She was eighteen.) They bought everything new: furniture, a new house, and everything was beautiful. Even when she had her first child, things were still going nicely. Things got bad when she had more and more children. Soon she and her husband began quarreling. They separated over little things about the children.

A woman within our study states "things were really beautiful until I got pregnant and left my job." Another recalls that their marriage was "hopping from one place to another. My husband always had some complaint about the boss or something on the job or something somebody said." She noted that she thought things would be better when they moved to the Ithaca area and then ironically added, "I should have known better." Her husband left her within three months of their moving to a new surrounding where she knew no one, had no kin, and was totally unfamiliar. Their experiences with husbands, therefore, have not led them to their placing undue confidence in them as a stable means of support. When asked which of the following would be the best way of getting an income for them, holding a job, being supported by a husband, or being given a guaranteed annual income, they responded in the following ways. All of the non-working women currently living with their first husbands said a husband was the best way. Nearly all of the working women without husbands felt that holding their own job was the best way.

Another worry about remarriage comes from the fear of a new husband disrupting the existing relationship the mother has with her children. One mother who admitted that she was uncertain about her feelings about remarriage says of her children, "They're pretty fond of me as a mother. I don't want any man messing that up coming in and telling them what to do." Of the women who were not married at the time of our interviews, only six said that they wanted to remarry. Six said that they definitely did not want to remarry and two were not sure.

What confidence then should one place in remarriage as a way off welfare? While we certainly cannot theorize about why remarriages should be more effective than first marriages, on the bases of three case studies we can mention potential problems present. Mrs. X noted that both she and her new husband had been the "stable" partner in previous unsuccessful marriages and that both were entering this marriage with increased maturity and a real determination to make the marriage work. Opposing their chances of success, however, is the same problem that dogged their earlier marriages - persistent shortage of income. Although both are steady workers and their combined incomes fall slightly above welfare qualifications, Mrs. X would like very much to have another baby. Should she choose to do so, this new family would probably be forced to go on welfare despite her husband's full-time job.
At last report, Mrs X had quit her job. We do not know, however, whether the family is in need of assistance because they have moved out of the county.

Mrs. C's situation is somewhat different, but the most pressing immediate problem is too little money dispite the fact that there are two wage earners. When both Mr. and Mrs. C are employed, their combined incomes fall above welfare qualification, even with seven children still living at home. Prior to her remarriage, Mrs. C had been living with her current husband for a number of years. Although they were sharing income at that time she was receiving welfare support. Although her remarriage was the apparent cause of her going off of welfare, in fact her financial situation had not substantially changed. The more important improvement was her change from not working to working at a higher status job. Mr. C works as a cook in a kitchen. In addition to low wages, he is also subject to frequent short periods without pay when his place of work goes "on" vacation." By welfare standards, the small amount by which the C's normal total monthly income exceeds the welfare budget for a family that size should be sufficient to carry the family over the four or five day periods that they are without pay. Such budget verages are mainly accounting fictions in the lives of a poor family of nine, however, and they are forced to come back from each "vacation" with their resources totally exhausted.

Things were going well for Mrs. R at the beginning of her second marriage. Her husband had a good job in construction and she felt that she could afford not to work. However, the burden of the work proved too much for Mr. R and he suffered an emotional breakdown. Since then he has been unemployed. He is currently sick and bedridden. Although the family was not on welfare for the time that Mr. R was in good health, they are now back on with little hope of ever getting off except through the addition of Social Security benefits. Reflecting on the question of marriage Mrs. R says:

> "Now I said I wouldn't get married so young if I could do it over, but no matter what kind of doing over I'd do I wouldn't consider remarrying now. It'd be foolish at my age (over fifty)and besides, I'd probably get another one who'd get sick like this one and I wouldn't like to care for another sick one!"

Looking at welfare patterns in relation to our work categories, we find that the non-workers are likeliest to report a long time history of welfare due to an early illness on the part of a husband with no likelihood of ever going off, as in the case of the W family. This pattern is in contrast to the other non-working welfare pattern which is like that of the L family, in which the husband was only temporarily unemployed due to an injury and neither he nor his wife felt that it would be "appropriate" for her to go out to work during his brief period of ill health.

Among many of the working women we also find a long period of time on welfare accompanied by a long history of working in very low-status jobs. There are the women who married and bore children at a very young age, and were forced to be self-sufficient due to an early abandonment by husbands, as with

Mrs. F. Women like Mrs. F were registered by their own mothers at the birth of their first out-of-wedlock child and have been on the rolls ever since. Though they may work as domestics, they rarely have the skills to get the kind of job that would keep them off welfare.

Women in the sporadic and periodic groups are likelier to have received welfare assistance later in life due to a divorce. Their chances of getting off appear better because they are younger, likelier to get remarried, and also tend to be higher on skills and education. In conclusion, the most striking feature of all of these illustrations is the obvious remoteness of any women being able to find jobs which pay them wages adequate to support a family without additional assistance.

B. Welfare Attitudes and Adjustment

One reason for a sporadic welfare history is the deep shame and resentment many families feel over accepting welfare assistance. As soon as they feel that they have any opportunity to go off, if even for only a month, they try to. This creates additional feelings of instability, however. Most of the families in our sample took pains to differentiate between people like themselves who were receiving assistance and those "others" who "drive around in Cadillacs," or "spend all the money on booze" or "try to cheat and get as much as they can." Mrs. B, for instance, has been receiving assistance since the birth of her first child. When asked about her attitudes towards welfare, however, she launched into a lengthy description of the "poorer" families she works with in her job as an aide. She feels that the poorer family, the less receptive they are to her advice, in part due to "emotional" problems. She feels that her own situation is quite "different."

The Q family also feels that the welfare program is "no good anyway... they give to those who are no good." Mrs. Q says, "I'm on Nixon's side because he wants to cancel the welfare. They help them that want to go and spend money at the bar, and poor children don't even have a piece of bread." Yet, the Q family is likely to remain on public assistance for the rest of their lives. Mrs. V summarizes her attitudes about people on welfare in this way: "The Department should check on people better, as they are unfair to certain people. Some on welfare have color television sets, while others barely have enough to eat." She said, "If a couple go up to welfare for help, they receive practically nothing. But if a woman with children goes for help, and if she has no husband, they will give her anything she wants." Mrs. E also feels that many welfare recipients, unlike herself, have no aspirations to "work their way off." As she puts it, "They'd feel so much more worthwhile if they were doing something instead of sitting there and taking somebody else's money."

With such negative stereotypes about welfare recipients in general, it is not surprising that many of our families are ambivalent with regard to their own needs for assistance. Although they all have felt relieved to have additional financial assistance, their attitudes vary substantially with regard to whether or not they feel it was their "right" to get aid. Few feel comfortable with a militant attitude. Most retain the more conservative point of view. Mr. Q is resigned to being dependent on assistance, feeling that there is nothing he can do to avoid it. He feels that the welfare system "is the only way to keep the poorest alive." His suggestions for improving the welfare system are "to supervise the control which welfare clerks have over poor people and to give more money to the poorest families." In summary, his feelings are "that it is a sad situation to be on welfare, but for those who don't have any other chance to survive, it is the only way to get support for a poor living."

Mrs. V summarizes her attitude in this way, "Welfare is nice to have around when you need them, but I would not use it unless I had to." Mrs. E was quite reluctant to admit that she was getting assistance, and finally said, "I get help, it galls me to no end but I get it. I dislike it, but I've got no choice. If I'm going to live and raise my kids I can't do it on what I make. We work off $25 a week taking out the garbage, for the other apartments, gas usually runs $45, and there's water, phone, T.V. cable, food and clothes. I bring home $167 twice a month...you just can't do it on that." She says that welfare has never given her any trouble and did not push her to work, though she adds that maybe she gets along so well "because they know I'm working and trying to get off." She adds that she finds medicaid a "Godsend" since her children were sick a lot last winter.

Mrs. B takes a slightly stronger position with regard to the responsibilities society has to provide her family with a minimum standard of living. She is frequently arguing with the Department of Social Services over what she has a right to demand. She became involved in one debate over whether she would be allowed to keep a car which she had bought. She especially did not like this because "I bought it with the money I worked for." She feels that she is human, too, and "has a right to it." Another thing she does not like is "those kids straight from college telling me how to do things." She adds, "They do not like me at the welfare because I stand up for my rights." She also feels that the Department should get rid of all of the supervisors and all other authority and bureaucracy. "The whole system is wrong. There is too much paper work and too little of getting to know families." Mrs. B thinks that most women who draw welfare would prefer to work but that if they don't earn much more than they receive from welfare, it is better for them to stay on.

Generally, Mrs. Q sums up the feelings of most of the women in our sample when she says, "I've been on welfare, and welfare not help me too much." She adds, "No one came and asked, 'do you have a good breakfast for your child?'" Many days she didn't even have enough money for their lunch or the children just had a cup of coffee to drink all day. She stresses that, unlike Mrs. B, she is not willing to argue and fight because she is too proud to ask for anyone's help. "Only God help me when I want to work. I want to help my children by myself. To go on welfare is not my future." Unfortunately, as is the case with so many others in our sample, the prospects for her realizing her hopes are dim.

C. Financial Practices

Mrs. B would probably find questions asking about her "budgeting" practices ironic and point out that there is little, if any, money to make decisions about. Once the most basic bills are paid, as Mrs. E described, only very small amounts remain. For Mrs. F, the big temptation has always been to ask for a little "extra" to buy curtains, but she has resisted, feeling that she shouldn't ask for more than the minimum necessary for survival. Mrs. C's financial situation has improved over the last few years as her children have left home, but she still says, "I buy the cheapest of everything even though I don't always have to" since she feels she has to "give something up for accepting help."

Many of these women are also subject to ruthless exploitation by local merchants. One working welfare mother related the following incident: While browsing through a local department store, she stopped to watch the demonstration televisions. A salesman approached her and asked her if she enjoyed watching it. He then went on to ask if she'd like to take it home for a few days to "try it out." He said they could have it delivered free of charge to her home and she could make a decision about buying it after seeing how she liked it. She took him up on his offer and brought it home, much to her children's delight. She knew, however, that she could never afford it, and brought it back within the next few days. Upon her return to the store, however, the salesman was too "busy" to take it back and told her that the policy had "changed." The store no longer allowed "trial offers." She owed them for the T.V. and was going to be in big trouble if she didn't start paying off the first installment. Shocked at the news, she demanded to see the manager and tell him the story. He shook his head and said that no such policy had ever been in existence, and he seriously doubted whether any of his salespersons would have made such an offer. He too demanded that she begin making payments.

Fortunately, in this case, the woman turned to a local organization run by university students, which provided counseling on just such matters. They helped her to handle the matter, and she was freed from the burden of paying for the set. Not all such incidents are resolved so happily however. In another case, a working welfare mother finally accumulated enough extra money to purchase a long-awaited washing machine. She picked it out and asked that it be delivered. When it arrived and installed, she discovered that it would not work, and it appeared that the inside bin had been broken at the time of delivery. When she called the store and asked that they take it back for one that worked, they refused. She ended up with a large "repair" bill and an additional charge of re-installment. Such exploitation of the poor has been well documented elsewhere.

In an earlier section, we pointed to the fact that for many families, a husband's reckless spending is a major source of financial instability. Mr. X purchased a pig farm only to have it repossessed after the livestock died, in part due to his own lack of knowledge about farming. He then turned to stock car racing further plunging the family into debt. Mr. K opened a store and then abandoned it leaving his wife to handle the creditors. He also purchased cameras and hi-fi sets on credit while the family could barely afford to purchase weekly groceries. Mrs. V recounts how her first husband "ran out one night and came home with a T.V. set which he made me pay out of the food money." Mrs. F's husband "drank up" the rent money and Mr. E spent it on his girlfriends. Women in our study report up to twenty-two moves in a ten-year period due to flights to avoid creditors.

There is no doubt that for many of these families what little money there is, is not always spent on the most basic survival needs of the family. Curtains, a car, or a washing machine may be more important in the long run to a family's emotional stability than a day without food. At some point one must recognize that chronic lack of money in and of itself is a critically disabling factor. Food stamps and lectures on "good management" practices are inadequate to deal with the consequences.

X. Employment History and Patterns

A. Employment History and Patterns

We have differentiated four types of employment patterns based on the work histories of our twenty-five case study women during the past eleven years. In reviewing their stories we felt that the following factors were particularly useful in categorizing the different "types" of patterns they fall into. These are by no means the only way or necessarily even the best way of describing them as individuals, but they do appear to reflect some generalized approaches to employment. Each woman's records were examined with regard to the length of time they had been employed during the past eleven years. Notice was also taken of the total number of jobs they had held during this period and the number and duration of their periods of unemployment. We have referred to our four work types as steady, sporadic, periodic, and non-workers.

Among the non-workers, we find that most of these women have never held any job at all in their lives, and are unlikely ever to do so. Many of them are older women who have finally completed rearing large families. (Four of these women had seven children and another had fourteen.) Most would share Mrs. W's sentiment, that she deserves a "well-earned rest." They have not worked throughout their lives for a variety of reasons. Most of them are quite poorly educated and without skills - often even such basic tools as reading or the ability to speak English. Their families are usually large and their husbands frequently permanently disabled. Those with better education were incapacitated by poor health, as in fact most of these women were.

With the exception of those families like the K's whom we have referred to as "transients" in the welfare population because of their brief period of needing assistance and likelihood of remaining financially independent, the non-workers have the most obstacles to improving either their welfare or employment status. Much of their lack of preparation for employment is reflected in their general level of role functioning in their families. Mrs. T is representative of the non-working women who feel inadequate to deal with their daily problems as wives and mothers, and are clearly failing to cope. Problems of illness in the family has further kept them from employment, particularly on the part of their husbands.

Among the workers, we have differentiated three different patterns: steady, sporadic, and periodic. The sporadic workers appear to be of two types, those who have had a high job turnover due to personal difficulties in keeping employment, and those who have changed jobs in an effort to achieve mobility. Mrs. E represents the latter pattern in that she is young, on her own, and ambitious to get skills. She wants to "just see how far I can get on my own." Like the other upwardly mobile sporadic workers, she has been through a divorce and concluded that in the future she will never again put herself in the vulnerable position of being dependent on a man. Even if these women remarried, they would continue to be employed and try to better themselves. Not surprisingly, these women are also the best endowed with the personal resources to implement their goals. They have kin to turn to when they are between jobs, and can afford to leave positions "without a future." Their high standards for themselves is also reflected in their generally high level of ratings on role functioning.

Mrs. K is representative of a sporadic worker whose generally low level of functioning in the home and on the job is due to both personal inadequacies and a turbulent marriage. Forced by her husband to work against her will, her life has been punctuated by twenty-two moves throughout the country picking up work wherever she can. High turnover also occurs because of frequent pregnancies and recurrent health problems. The sporadic work pattern may often be a symptom of other turbulence in these women's lives. Among the steady workers are several cases of women who are falling into a high turnover pattern in recent years, due to serious emotional problems which have carried over into their work performance and led to their being fired.

The periodic workers tend to have had long periods of unemployment coupled with fairly short work histories and a shorter period for holding one job. We find among the periodic workers a greater tendency to feel that they would much prefer to be at home with their children while they are young, and would only work under such conditions as a stop gap measure. Mrs. X is representative of this point of view. She has only held one job during a period between marriages. She was reliable, and found the work relatively enjoyable, but had little hesitation in quitting once she remarried and became pregnant again.

A slightly different pattern emerges for Mrs. A who is also quite high in her general level of role functioning, but whose motivation for work is not "stop gap." She shares Mrs. X's sentiments with regard to the importance of being at home full time while children are young. However, she has essentially reached a later stage in her life cycle. At forty-eight, her children are less of a responsibility and she has been alone for some time because of her divorce. She now is more interested and prepared to work. She is doing well in her job and was recently promoted to a quite responsible supervisory position. Mrs. X may well follow the same pattern at a later point in her life.

The steady workers are characterized by their longer term of employment, relatively few periods of unemployment and tendency to stay with a job for a longer period of time. What accounts for their relative stability compared to the periodics and sporadics? Mrs. Q is representative of working welfare mothers who are the sole breadwinners in their families. Though receiving assistance, they are committed to earning their own way in life. We do not find high turnover for several reasons. The most important is that the family is totally dependent on the regularity of their income. The between-job period would cause a serious economic crises in the household.

The second factor is characteristic of the steady workers who show a relatively low level of functioning in daily life. Lacking in skills, education, and often in poor health, they are caught in low-status jobs with no hopes or aspirations for mobility. Mrs. Q works in a kitchen, while Mrs. N, Mrs. F, and Mrs. G are all domestics. They are trapped in their jobs by dependent families and positions that go nowhere.

Steady workers like Mrs. I and Mrs. V, however, have the education and basic ability to acquire jobs calling for skills and training. They have proven reliable workers in the past, and with some additional assurance of security, they are in a good position to take advantage of further training. Mrs. V did in fact quit her job at a laundry which she had held for seven years and complete a training program. Still young steady workers like

Mrs. I and Mrs. V are like the upwardly mobile sporadics who foresee many years of employment ahead of them and hope to find jobs that bring satisfaction. It is within this group of ambitious women who are relatively high on personal skills and resources that we also find the highest ratings for level of functioning in daily living. They, if any, are in the best position to bring about a change for the better in their employment and welfare status. Their youth adds the additional probability of their remarrying and receiving the additional financial security of a husband.

B. Employment Obstacles and Resources

We have touched throughout this report on the major obstacles to employment. Among the non-working families, we are likelier to find the mothers who are most poorly educated, illiterate, suffering from emotional problems, or seriously ill. Although "attitudes" are important, few welfare women stay home simply because they do not want to work. The responsibilities facing many of these women are already overwhelming. We have given countless illustrations of the problems revolving around children which demand full-time attention from these mothers.

Husbands play a crucial role in determining whether or not a woman is likely to participate in the labor force. An unstable husband may lead to constant moves. His presence may also create a serious danger for other members of the family and a mother may be necessary merely for protective purposes. Jealousy and possessiveness along with feelings that a working wife signifies a husband's failure, further inhibit a woman from taking a job.

Job training may be a possible solution for a small group of women in our sample who are in a position to take advantage of it. Prerequisites at the most basic level are adequate health, intelligence, stable marital situation, adequate child care, relatively few serious problems on the part of other family members, access to transportation, additional support to cover new costs, and a will on the part of the woman herself to go through the program. More detailed discussion of the difficulties associated with day care and training has been included in other sections.

C. Work Attitudes and Adjustment

As we have suggested throughout, there is a great deal of variation within each work category with regard to attitudes and adjustment toward work. We find a relatively few women who reported that they work primarily because they enjoy it. Mrs. C worked immediately after her children were born because she felt she needed to "get out of the house." She found extra impetus however because her husband had ceased supporting her. Mrs. E returned to work after the birth of her first child because she enjoyed having extra money and wanted an opportunity to "prove" herself. Mrs. N began an extensive business of ironing shirts and child care after the birth of her child. Mrs. B volunteered work for pleasure which ultimately turned into a paid employment when she was asked to work as a community aide. All of these women feel that their employment is necessary to satisfy their own needs for responsibility outside the home. Those who do not find the work itself intrinsically satisfying, report that companionship from friends at work is the main source of satisfaction.

Periodic workers are more prone to mention that their reason for returning to work was to "pay off old bills." Women, like Mrs. I, returned when all of her children were in school to help compensate for her husband's loss of overtime. However, she described herself as "hating to work." Mrs. F took sporadic odd jobs as a housekeeper to pay off old bills. Mrs. y worked to help pay for things her husband had purchased on credit. Since her divorce and recent pregnancy she has preferred to stay at home and work as a day care mother. She describes this new position as "the very best possible," even though it brings in less money. Mrs. E first worked part-time and for extremely short periods as a housekeeper for "extras" for the new home she was decorating. She then did not work for six years until after her divorce. She disliked working as a domestic and in retrospect says, "I don't know how I did it." Today she is working at a higher skilled job and says that "my work is giving me my first chance to learn what I can do and be." Since Mrs. S first worked for very short time periods after her first and second children because her husband expected her to help out with finances. She then did not work until five years later when separated.

The most common motivation for working was either because a husband was disabled, or the family had a loss of support due to separation or divorce. Women often feel "forced" into the labor force under these conditions, and are less likely to report finding employment a "satisfying" experience. Mrs. Q began working several years after the birth of her last child because her husband was injured and permanently disabled, and then only under extreme pressure from the Department of Social Services. She strongly believes that a woman's place is in the home and resents her husband for his failure as a provider. Mrs. H's husband is also unemployed. She has worked in both a factory and as a domestic much of the time, but has a very sporadic work pattern because she stops when her health fails. For her, work is primarily a "stop gap" between periods of bad health.

With a young family and deserted by their husbands, women are particularly bitter about having to work. Mrs. V worked for seven years at an exhausting manual labor job. She did not dare change positions despite the intolerable conditions because her husband had ceased to support the family because of gambling and alcoholism. Mrs. D worked steadily as a bookkeeper throughout marriage under what she regarded as very heavy pressure from welfare because her husband was not supporting her. Mrs. G began domestic work after her first child was born because "my husband was drinking up all the money." One woman worked prior to but never during marriage. She returned to work after divorce, but would definitely prefer having a husband support her. Most bitter perhaps are women like Mrs. K whose husband forced her against her will to work in any position he could find her, ranging from . . factories to nightclubs. He wanted the extra money to purchase things like cameras for himself.

The factors which lead a woman to seek out employment then are clearly important in understanding her attitudes, and adjustment. Without knowing why they are working it is difficult to evaluate the effects of employment on her family and herself. The case of Mrs. X provides a good illustration. While she was married she never considered employment and preferred to stay at home with her young children. After her divorce, however,she decided to take a job. She says, "It wasn't Welfare's idea I get a job; it was my doctor's. He said I was thinking too much about my problems and making a mess of myself." She found that she enjoyed work and gained a great deal of self confidence and esteem. She has since remarried and left her job. At this point in time she again prefers to be at home with her family and would be distressed if she felt pressured into working.

Two conclusions may be drawn from the above illustrations. The nature of a job per se does not necessarily predict the level of satisfaction of the woman working at it. We find bitter resentment in women with high status bookkeeping positions and great pleasure from a woman who worked as a charwoman. Second, and most crucial in evaluating effects on the family, is our observation that a woman's adjustment and satisfaction in the worker role is closely related to the conditions under which she was led to seek employment. The very same woman may hold vastly different attitudes towards employment depending on the alternatives currently available to her and the extent to which she feels external pressures have "driven" her into it. Our findings leave little doubt that women who feel "forced" to work are likely to have families that "suffer" as a direct result of their employment.

XI Conclusions and Implications

A. Summary of the Effects of Employment

In evaluating the effects of a woman's employment on herself and family, we have stressed the importance of understanding her motivations for entering the labor force. Her adjustment to the role will depend not only upon the nature of the job itself but more often upon the options and pressures which led her to seek out employment.

In evaluating the effects of working on the women's self concepts, we found many young women reporting a new sense of esteem and confidence in their discovery that they could handle responsibility. For women who have felt trapped in unhappy marriages due to economic dependency, the experience of receiving pay in exchange for a contribution which is due to their individual independent effort, provides not only a new sense of worth but often feelings of liberation and re-evaluation of self. Such feelings appear most likely to occur when the woman herself makes the decision to seek employment. However, there are certainly many others who were hesitant and ambivalent about working, who found that they enjoyed the new freedom.

Not all women reported such positive effects from their working however, and it is in these cases that the negative effects of employment reverberate throughout an entire family. In cases when a woman felt pressured by welfare or coerced by husbands, or forced by circumstances outside her control to work, even though she felt she should not have to or would prefer not to be employed, the negative effects were felt by the entire family. Mothers who are bitter over having to work were likelier to place extra demands on their children, express open hostility to their husbands, and provide less adequate care for their children.

The best source of information for explaining a woman's welfare or work history is her marital relationship. We have suggested that husbands play a crucial role in determining when and whether or not a wife seeks employment. His employment status, health, and general attitudes are in some cases decisive. We have also suggested that for many families, the father is the mafor element of instability either due to his erratic work patterns, personal problems like alcoholism or wife beating, or financial fiascos. In these cases, the first step toward stability was to obtain a divorce. Remarriage also appears to play an important part in a woman's welfare status. Despite much obvious ambivalence with regard to depending on men for economic security after past experiences with abandonment, many women do turn to new marriages in hopes of freeing themselves from employment and welfare.

The children in our case study families too frequently reflect the effects of insecurity, turbulence, rejection, frustration, exhaustion, and impoverishment of financial and emotional resources. Too many of these children are sick physically and mentally. Many are maimed from birth because their own mothers were finding survival difficult. Few of these children were planned for. Their birth and presence merely meant an additional burden on an already overstrained household. The environments they grow up in include dangerous objects and people. Some reflect the effects of physical harm, and are hospitalized, permanently deformed, or simply killed. More often the psychological effects are crippling ones. Nearly every family includes some one in need of therapy. Children who cry at violence in coloring books, fear that their house is haunted by a father, set fires, wet beds, steal cars, get pregnant, and kill people are suffering from far more than having a mother who is out of the home working from nine to five. The absence of the mother does in some cases further compound an already bad situation, but it rarely can be isolated as the main source of these children's difficulties.

As homemakers, we find a great variation in the standard of living and extent of responsibility facing our case study mothers. Whether working or not, women who are conscientious do their best to keep their homes in good condition, while those who are not allow things to become chaotic. Conscientious working women sometimes say that they become more conscientious when they work. Most, however, especially those who also enjoy their jobs or do not want to make their children "suffer," find that they have to carry a double burden. Keeping up their high standards comes at a lost in leisure time, health, and at times personal relationships with husbands, children, or potential dates. Women like Mrs. B who have always been terrible housekeepers ,use work as an excuse for their home's condition. Employment may also make things become worse. Nonworkers seemed to have particularly large home responsibilities to cope with either in terms of number of family members, health problems, or general low level of available appliances and facilities. Overwhelming household responsibilities are clearly an obstacle to many nonworking women's employment.

Although employment does often decrease the extent of a woman's dependency on public assistance, it is highly unlikely to lead to total economic independence. Given the level of jobs most of the women in our sample are employed in, and the type of wages they receive, the prospects for "Working one's way off" are bleak. Most of their jobs hold little promise for advancement. The probability of a closed case is further decreased if a working welfare mother does not receive regular support from her husband. Resources are scant and unstable, while family needs are too often large and ever expanding. Working women with fourteen children and no husband could get the plums of factory overtime and still live in poverty. Remarriage seems to hold more promise than employment but as frequently as not ends in a new cycle of abandonment, poor health, high unemployment, and welfare.

B. Some Policy and Programmatic Implications Based on the Case Studies

We have attempted throughout this report to let the women themselves answer the programmatic questions we set out to investigate initially. Although their comments have aften included suggestions for how to improve their daily lives, more commonly they expressed the feeling that the problems they faced were very overwhelming. These in depth case studies are a testimony to the conclusion that even the most heroic of individual efforts are inadequate to meet what is basically a social problem.

Why were these women on welfare? No one single factor can explain why a woman found it necessary to seek public assistance. In all cases, personal resources, no matter how high, were inadequate to meet the family's need no matter how low. The basic problem was the gap between need and resources available. By need, we are referring to the fact that these mothers are faced with large families, an absence of financial support from husbands, absence of kin support, large health bills, physical and emotional problems of husband and children, and generally inadequate physical home facilities. They vary with regard to the level of personal resources with which they meet these needs. When they are no longer young, lacking in education, without job skills, worn out from early marriage and many childbirths, members of an ethnic minority, and physically ill themselves, there is little hope of narrowing the gap between need and resources through their own efforts. The prospects for change are further decreased by the lack of other resources in the community at large. There may be no demand for unskilled labor, wages may be low, transportation inadequate, day care facilities too expensive or nonexistent, health insurance unavailable, and a general absence of social service information.

Who among our small group of women appears most likely to narrow this gap between resources and need? Those who were high on resources to begin with showed the most change for the better. Their work history showed a series of attempts at self support. They only needed a "break" through job training or moving to a better paying job, as was the case with Mrs. V. Their need was also not likely to be as high as others in terms of the number of children needing support, or their own physical health. Mrs. E for instance is well educated, has kin to turn to, is in good health, and is young. Another type of woman in a good position to narrow the gap does so because her needs were high only for a temporary period of time. Ordinarily her personal resources would have been adequate, but due to momentary crises like a husband's unemployment, more was needed to help meet the needs. Once the crises passed, her own level of functioning became adequate.

Do the solutions lie in reducing needs or raising resources? There is obviously little that can be done if the major reason for a high need is a large family, except to assist future generations by making contraceptive information and abortions more readily available. In our discussion of adjustment to the maternal role, we have suggested that family planning information is something all women regret not finding out about sooner. Most of these women were not prepared for the birth of their first child, and expressed bitterness over having to drop out of school. More efforts should be made to help girls remain in school during and after their pregnancies by setting up programs similar to the Y-Med experiment in Syracuse, New York. By providing health services, day care, counseling and tutoring to young unwed mothers, many young women in that program have been spared the years of turbulence that follow from out-of-wedlock pregnancies. Preventive programs could be organized by the Labor Department for out of school girls, since in many communities schools do not adequately deal with these girls once they become pregnant.

For many families, the need for welfare assistance was due to the absence of support from a husband. We have suggested that much of the marital instability experienced by these women was related to the lack of marketable skills, poor attitudes toward work and under employment of their husbands, boyfriends and former husbands. Therefore, an effective attack at the roots of the ADC dependency problem would be to reach these men and the boys who are currently reaching maturity only to find themselves in the same position. We could eliminate some of the causes of an unstable family structure and therefore the causes of dependency by helping these men, rather than concentrating solely on the symptoms of the problem -- those who are receiving assistance.

At the same time, however, it is clear that many of these women are going to need help themselves: help in finding and keeping jobs, help in their personal lives. Job training appears to be an effective solution for ending poverty. But it is far easier to answer the question of "Who needs job training?" rather than "Who wants it?" or for that matter, "Who can benefit from it?" Let us consider first, the women in our sample for whom there is a low desire to be part of a job training program. Nearly half of the women in the case studies expressed satisfaction with their current job level and type, but felt that they needed a better salary if they were to decrease their reliance on public assistance. These women worked as waitresses in cafeterias, as day care mothers, and as office workers. In some cases they clearly did not have the ability and motivation to learn additional skills. More commonly they had acquired experience in one type of work like house cleaning or waitressing and felt no need to learn another. The best possible solution from their point of view would be get paid higher wages at their present job. This solution for many does not seem realizable in the near future and upgrading to better paying jobs might be more effective.

Among the nonworkers we find that many of the women would have been physically incapable of holding jobs due to poor health. In other cases, large families were seriously in need of the mother's presence in the home. Other women felt strongly that it was wrong for a woman to work, and that they deserved a well earned rest now that they had reached their mid fifties and had grown families. Equally as important are the feelings of many husbands that a wife's employment is out of the question. Forcing women in such families into a job training program is not only likely to disrupt already fragile marital bonds but could lead to additional welfare dependency if it precipitated divorce and desertion. These adjustments, especially of men's attitudes, may be difficult to bring about without special help.

Who then, is in the best position to take advantage of job training? The women who were most likely to express a real interest in job training viewed work as a source of potential mobility. While they were interested in increasing their financial resources, they were particularly concerned that they enjoy or "find satisfaction" from their jobs. These satisfactions would appear to come from both the nature of the work itself and the promise it holds for increased social mobility and prestige.

Two types of women seemed the most likely to take advantage and profit from further job training. One, is the older woman who has been a steady worker for many years and who craves a change of pace but has never dared risk the possibility of losing the security of her current job. Work has been a part of her life for a long time, and is likely to continue to be. Particularly if she is divorced and her children are nearly grown she is likely to have the time and energy to take advantage of training. She would be interested in a better paying occupation if she can be supported during the training period.

The other women who seem likely to take advantage of job training are more likely to be younger, with younger children. They may have been recently divorced, or their children may be approaching school age. Although they may have had little or no job experience, they are anxious to learn a skill and get a job so that they can be self sufficient, either because they are now on their own, or because they have personal ambitions and are bored with life at home.

Neither type of woman however can be expected to participate in job training programs without a variety of supportive facilities like day care, money for transportation and additional allowance to cover the cost of someone replacing her part-time in her own home. None of these women have the time or the energy to spend their "free time" and evenings studying at night school for a high school diploma. To expect them to do it on their own is unrealistic.

The current opportunities for job training in the area include a few clerical and driver training Adult Education courses, which are held in the evenings in the county seat (no public transportation during these hours;) a few courses at the community college inconveniently located with no public transportation at all, held during daytime hours and at relatively high cost; MDTA clerk-typist program instituted this past year; a BOCES practical nurses training program; an On-the-Job training program under which an individual may be trained for a job that an employer wants filled except apprenticeship positions. Although BOCES has training programs for carpenters, machinists, toolmakers and painters, each demands that the applicant be an apprentice which in turn means admission to the appropriate trade union program. Even though these trades are usually geared toward males, it is important when thinking of low income women to think of the job market their husbands must face as well. As was shown earlier, this was an important factor in opening welfare cases.

Although On-the-Job Training is the largest training program available for women in this local area, an examination of the list of jobs for which women are currently being trained under OJT in the county will indicate that there is little possibility of becoming self supporting by this means. The complete list for women follows: library page; short-order cook; electrical assembler; punch press operator; sales clerk; nurses aide; and pantry girl. The closest city with a comprehensive MDTA program is sixty miles away.

There is much ignorance and misinformation among our population about the varying programs available. Information is hard to get. Likewise, the chances for workers trying to advance are hampered by poor transportation and inflexibility of hours. In other sections we have illustrated these problems with the cases of Mrs. C's attempts at getting driving lessons, and Mrs. V's training experience. Despite the lack of training programs in the area, someone could have provided these women with good vocational guidance by the time they left school. This opportunity was missed, however, and society as well as the individuals paid the cost of needless welfare expenditures and underutilized manpower resources. Additional job training programs, of course, depend upon the availability of funds to run them. Until such funds are available, maximum effort should be directed toward coordinating the programs that do exist and making sure that staff members of any one of these programs, to whom persons might come for information and training, are aware of the offering of the others and are prepared to refer the individual to the appropriate place.

Further, rurban areas are seriously lacking in public transportation. Businesses, educational institutions trying to reach low income people, job training programs, and Department of Social Services , that are encouraging people to work must recognize the part played by lack of transportation in cutting down the effectiveness of their work. They must take some responsibility for solving the problem by institutionalizing more efficient ways of using private transportation. For the Social Service Department specifically, this means that welfare plicy (and of course the money necessary to implement the policy) should be liberalized for ownership and operation of a car. Living outside of town with the husband working different hours and no convenient neighbors working similar hours, transportation problems were crucial.

Beyond this, however, all of these organizations must think in terms of identifying their employees or clients spatially and then taking the initiative in organizing car pools of people who live in neighboring areas, of advising new and potential employees of transportation possibilities for them, and of helping to find a solution to transportation problems where none already exist. More efficient than trying to accomplish this within a single organization of course, would be to create a central clearing agency that could be used to match up drivers and potential riders for many different purposes. Employment services or training programs may be such a coordinating program. The problem is further complicated since many of the women do not work for an employer with many employees and the small number who work for a single employer do not live in the same area.

We have suggested that in many cases there are positive effects on self and family due to a mother's employment. In many cases, however, a mother's having to work contributed to the turbulence of an already unstable family life. How then can we lessen the negative impact of maternal employment in such families?

Mothers in our study were frequently faced with an incidence of problems with their children which is overwhelming. Their children were more likely to drop out, get pregnant, have emotional problems or have bogh physical defects and serious health problems. All of these problems are hard enough for any mother to cope with, let alone being a working mother and a single parent. First, and most important, more of these women need to be informed of the services in the community available to help them out. Not only do their children need direct help, but many of the mothers themselves need to have someone to turn to, to help them understand the nature of the problems facing their children. Such services should also be made available at times which working women can take advantage of them. Women with full time jobs and no cars find it difficult to bring young children to clinics for the assistance they desperately need.

During the times when children are infants mothers should feel free to stay at home. Pregnancy leaves with absolute guarantees of being rehired should be strictly enforced. Women should be allowed to return initially at part-time positions if they feel the need. Health insurance should also provide for some assistance during the period of time that women are unable to work. We have also documented cases in which children have suffered from neglect due to mothers' ignorance of basic nutrition or inability to provide for their babies' needs. All women who give birth should be visited and given counseling on how to care for their infants. This is particularly true for young teenage mothers having their first child.

Moynihan and others have lamended the lack of male role models in many of these mother-headed households. Laws on the presence of "boyfriends" should be more flexible. Changes in marital status should not lead to such abrupt changes in welfare status. In the case of the C family, for instance, we find that Mr. C, in deciding to marry Mrs. C, suddenly found himself financially responsible for all her children. Not surprisingly, this decreases the likelihood of the mother remarrying, depriving her children of a father and herself of the emotional support of a husband.

We have suggested throughout that the men in these women's lives play an important role in the family's stability. His presence and absence are important determinants of welfare and employment status. Much more attention needs to be given to the needs of the men who find themselves permanently disabled and unable to support their families. When his wife is the main support, counseling often seems necessary to help him adjust to his new role in the family. He cannot be expected to adjust happily to doing "womanly" duties in the home. He also needs involvement in supporting the family. Although his contribution to the household may be inadequate for their entire support, there should be alternatives to his taking a regular job. Mr. Q expresses the strong desire to be involved in some kind of activity that makes him feel he is "worth something" to his family. Unless totally bedridden, many of these men could handle segments of a regular job or perform tasks around the house if they were trained. If he is involved in some kind of meaningful activity, both he and his wife are far less likely to resent her work status.

Turning finally to the effects of work on the women themselves, we must consider the conditions of her job itself. Female employees must begin receiving equal pay for equal work, equal chances for promotion, equal opportunity for job training despite size of family. Many women expressed the need for more security and predictability in their jobs. Women tend to be the last hired and first fired. In some types of occupations there are no regular and predictable monthly income. They are subject to the fluctuations of the number of shirts received by the laundry per week, or lack of work entirely due to school vacations in which kitchens close down or employers go on vacation. Such instability in income is a serious problem for many of our families.

Managing the homemakers role still involves a "double burden" for most of the working women. Few have kin they can rely on, and most are reluctant to place extra demands on their children. Single parents are particularly likely to feel overburdened by their household duties. Regular tax deduction should be provided so that working mothers can afford to hire help. Welfare allotments should include enough assistance so women can have adequate appliances to work with. To the policy makers question, "What do women need as an incentive to work?" the answer might simply be, "Free them from housework in exchange for a job outside the home." Do not ask them simply to add a job to their lives in addition to everything else.

Besides the obvious need for more assistance with family planning, liberal maternity leave and health services, women who are working need emotional outlets as well. Besides suffering from overwork, most of these women, particularly those without kin who can be relied upon as free babysitters, find themselves confined to the home with their children. These young women without husbands complain of feelings of loneliness and often have no social life of their own. Ample provisions should be made for these women to have a chance to get out of the house on a date or visit friends. This can only be accomplished if they do not have to constantly worry about paying a sitter. Welfare allotments should allow women to pay for an evening out. We have found that remarriage can often lead to a permanent closing of welfare dependency. Without a chance to go out on dates, this process is only delayed.

TWENTY-FIVE INTENSIVE CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY OF MRS. V AND FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 29
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 3 children
2 girls, 1 boy, ages 10 to 13

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 2
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed: 7
No. of years on welfare: 8

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: steady
Skills and training: clerical
Usual occupation: laundry

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 111
No. of full-time jobs held: 4
No. of part-time jobs held:
Total no. of jobs held: 4
Longest period of employment: 87 mos.
Average job duration: 55 months
No. of months unemployed: 21
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 12 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family + 4

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1956		Mrs. V wed 1st husband	unstable work history by 1st husband		Mrs. V has received public assistance 7 times, starting in 1962. The case was closed in 1970, due to remarriage.	
1957	child					
1959	child					
1961				factory job, for over 1 yr.		Mrs. V's parents died
1962				laundry job, over 7 yrs.		moved to Ithaca
1967		separated				
1968						high school equivalency diploma
1969		divorced 1st husband				
1970		married Mr. V	same maintenance job for many years	7 mo. clerical training program followed by new job		

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

Mrs. V has been selected by us to go into the steady worker category. This is because over the last eleven years, she has had just three jobs and only brief periods of unemployment. Her employment at one job lasted seven years and it is possible that she still might have continued working there for the next few years if she did not have the alternative of entering a clerical training program.

Mrs. V is an energetic young woman of twenty-nine years. Her hard life shows in her face but so does the strength of her personality. Mrs. V has a slight build, rather mousey colored hair, restless hands, and a hesitant but warm smile.

She was an illegitimate child, brought up by a foster mother from the age of four months, and except for the years when she was seven to fourteen she lived with her foster mother and still is close to her. She dropped out of school at sixteen and was pregnant and was married to Mr. Y. This began a series of unhappy years filled with constant crises of moving, sporadic financial support supplemented with grants from Department of Social Services, unpaid bills, long periods of absence by Mr. Y who used his salary to drink and gamble and who was restrictive and abusive. Three children were born, two daughters, A now 13, B now 11, and a son, C now 10. Over the years, Mrs. V felt obliged to accept and hold unpleasant jobs in order to support the family since her husband did not. Her situation changed with separation and divorce from Mr. Y, Since then she has obtained a high school equivalency diploma, taken training as a clerk-typist and has a new job making use of these skills. Most recently, she has entered a new marriage which has promise of fulfilling her hopes for a loving stable relationship. Now she is looking forward to a new home they are buying and might even want to stay at home with a new baby if that should be the course of events but in the meantime is accepting and enjoying her new work.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 5

It is only since 1967 when she separated from her husband permanently that Mrs. V has been able to gradually build her self-esteem and sense of personal worth because of several important changes in her life. Mrs. V has been hungering for close relationships and a feeling of being cared for, having been deprived of these all her life until her recent second marriage. This new relationship has enabled her to reach out to other people in a more reciprocal and trusting way. Just recently, too, Mrs. V obtained her high school equivalency diploma, completed job training, and now has a new job as a secretary at a local college. In order to achieve these goals, Mrs. V has shown a good deal of ego strength and perseverence. In the past, Mrs. V has been able to cope with the constant changes of moving, the instability of her domineering former husband and the insecurity of not having a steady income for many years. And she did this despite a traumatic childhood. Mrs. V has been thought of by others as competent and aggressive and determined to better herself. She is not readily able to describe herself and is only gradually beginning to think of herself as a strong and productive person who is worthy of love and confidence. Her son says she is nice, smart and pretty and, "She also cooks good."

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 6

Mrs. V describes her whole life as "one big mess." However, she points to the years she lived with her first husband as being the worst stage in her life. If she had to do it again, Mrs. V would not have married him. She was young and foolish and had no idea what she was doing at the time. Mrs. V has hopes for a better future for herself and her children through her happy second marriage. Because things have been going well for her these last few years through her persistent efforts, Mrs. V is inclined to believe that she does have some degree of control over what happens to her and her family.

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

Mrs. V's first husband, Mr. Y, was eighteen when they got married. He quit high school four months before graduating, but never wanted to go back to finish. He had been a construction worker but has not maintained a steady job. Mrs. V said she tried to get him to find a better job but he was never interested. She signed him up for some sort of training course and even bought the books, but he refused to go. Since their divorce, however, he has been working at a factory and remarried in May 1970.

While Mrs. V was married to Mr. Y, her husband was more out of the house than in it. She complained of how he drank and gambled excessively, never giving her money to run the house or feed and clothe the children. She also mentioned that he beat her several times. In addition, he did not allow her to have friends, to vote, or to go back to high school. Mr. Y treated the children inconsistently. He didn't pay his debts and his behavior and owing rent caused the family to have to move constantly. In summary, he seemed to be a weak and immature man who was unable to adequately meet the needs of his family or of himself.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 1 and 6

Mrs. V quit high school at sixteen to get married when she was in the eleventh grade because she was pregnant. They lived in a nearby village until Mr. Y's gambling and drinking became so bad he could not get any work and they were practically "kicked out of town." Mr. V describes the next years as "a repeat performance over and over. He would work to get money for boozing and gambling, then disappear for weeks. This was better than having him around drunk when he would be like a crazy man and the neighbors would complain."

The marital relationship for Mrs. V was a stifling one. She seemed to be completely dominated by her husband who was jealous of any attempt on her part to have a life of her own. He insisted on having his own way. Yet it was Mrs. V who always found a place for them to move when they were evicted, and she made all the decisions about moving. All she would do was tell him where they were going and when. She was the one who was strong enough to support the family through her job at the laundry and by applying for public assistance. Mrs. V also mentioned that she took her husband to court before they were separated for support and for beating her. Nothing ever really came of these sessions because her husband would not carry through the Judge's orders. After a while she got tired of taking him to court.

Mrs. V was married to her present husband, Mr. V, in October 1970. She met him while attending a church service last summer. Mr. V works as a maintenance man, a job which he has held for many years. He was married before but his wife died recently after their children were grown. He is quite a few years older than Mrs. V but is able to offer her the kind of stability and love which were lacking in her other marriage. For the first time in her life, Mrs. V has someone she can depend on and respect.

At first, Mrs. V was wary of getting involved with another man and afraid of being hurt. Mr. V had to be persistent in keeping in touch with her until she finally agreed to go out with him. At first Mrs. V expected only to date, never thinking they would "get serious." Then their relationship deepened, and Mrs. V was able to relax and trust Mr. V, and came to depend on him in many little ways. "I don't know how it happened but after a few months it just seemed natural to talk about getting married. What is so good is that I can really talk to him like no one else and he's always there when I need him. I never had that before."

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 6

Mrs. V has three children now, but would like a total of four. She said that since she has been a little girl, she always wanted four children. She did not know about planned parenthood at the time of her first marriage, but thinks she would have wanted to use it. However, her husband warned her that she would have to keep having babies until she produced a boy and she did the third time.

Mrs. V receives a lot of satisfaction from her children. She is quite close to them and tried to protect them from the harmful effects of her first marriage. Her maternal role is one she takes seriously and sincerely tries to fulfill to the best of her ability. Her only worry about the children is how her working is affecting them. She feels that she cannot give enough time to her children and comes home tired so that she has little energy to do more than just what is necessary. Despite this, she did volunteer as a leader for a girl's group for two years when B was nine and ten.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. V and her first husband disagreed on child-rearing techniques. Mrs. V said her husband was too rough with the children and was too rigid, especially with the girls. She felt he idolized his son "letting him get away with murder." When a child misbehaved, Mr. Y would lash out at her first, putting the blame on her and then punishing the child. This treatment was confusing for the children and upsetting to Mrs. V.

Mrs. V sees herself as permissive and easy to get around from a child's point of view. She likes to talk things over with her children and treat them with respect. "I don't always do it - sometimes I act just like my own mother. But she treated me so awful. I at least love my kids and remember that they are real people."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mrs. V sees things as going well with all her children. They usually play after school with their friends, almost always at Mrs. V's house. In the evenings, they are home unless they go to a friend's house. Mrs. V said she always knows where they are and insists on knowing. The children are not doing as well in school as she would like, but she hopes they do better. She stresses the importance of education. She hopes things go better for her children. She doesn't want them to grow up like she did. She also plans on her children getting better jobs, although she disappointingly told me that her oldest daughter who is in the seventh grade is very slow and does poorly in school. A is thirteen years old. She is also unwilling to help at times around the house.

Mrs. V's middle daughter, B age eleven, is always willing to do anything. She explained this by saying that as far as she knew, all middle children were like this. However, she finds her boy, C age ten, to be too spoiled. She blames this on her husband who refused to discipline him or let Mrs. V discipline him. Everything that he did was perfect, never wrong. The children don't seem to have any unusual problems or have suffered permanent harm from the traumatic years of Mrs. V's first marriage.

Mr. V has taken on this second family willingly and skillfully. He supports Mrs. V in her decisions about the children and is making allowances for the necessary period of adjustment to a new father.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 6

Mr. Y used to come home for dinner about three or four times a week. When he did, the family would eat together and discuss what each one did during the day. However, Mrs. V unhappily told me that he usually came home drunk. Mrs. V said that her first husband never spent much time with the children. However, for about a year now since the divorce, he has been taking the children for the weekend, from Friday night until Sunday night. The children go willingly, and come home happy. However, Mrs. V knows that her husband is rarely with the children, but leaves them with his new wife. Mrs. V does not think this arrangement affects the children; they seem to be happy with each parent alone. They did not want their parents to get divorced, but have accepted the divorce by now and the remarriage of both. Now that they are older, the children are beginning to realize how rough it was for all the family before Mrs. V left their father.

The V family are close-knit, having been through a lot together. Mrs. V confided in her oldest daughter more than anyone else until she met Mr. V. Her son is especially attached to his new father. The children have the usual rivalries and scraps but are very loyal to each other and their parents.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 4

Mrs. V has been anemic all her life. Although she stopped taking iron pills in 1969, she has not seen a doctor about this condition. In 1961 she had a tumor in her neck surgically removed. Mrs. V also complains of headaches, backaches, nervous tension, and sinus trouble, none of which are being treated by a doctor. These ailments have lessened since Mrs. V left the laundry and remarried. Despite these minor disabilities, Mrs. V is basically in good health. Her children do not have any major health problems either.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

Mrs. V said that the family had to move many times because Mr. Y was considered a nuisance and they were told to go. Also, they would fall behind in rent and were forced to move. To illustrate this, Mrs. V described their first two years of living in Ithaca after they moved from the village. "We first moved to one part of town for four months, then to a house right downtown. This house was condemned after six months so we moved into my foster-mother's house for three weeks. Then we lived on T. St. for about a year until we finally moved to our present house in 1967 after I kicked that guy out for good." Her present house looks somewhat worn from the outside, faded painted wood. She complains that she needs a new door but her landlord will not put one in. The house is barely furnished, and the couch and chairs look old; however, itself is kept neatly. In the living room is a large magazine rack with many magazines. Mrs. V likes to read, and usually buys books and magazines rather than take them out of the library.

Mr. and Mrs. V are planning to move soon to the country. They started looking for a home to buy in a rural area soon after they were married and have found one they all like.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. V has never found housekeeping to be a problem. During most of her life, she has had very few possessions and has taken good care of what she did obtain. The many moves have also eliminated all but the most basic kind of furniture and personal belongings. "Listen, I usually had to do the moving and pay for it, too. Me and the kids can live very simply so it's not such a drag to move." This sparcity of furnishings makes keeping the home neat fairly uncomplicated. Mrs. V sweeps and mops daily where it is needed. The children help also. One thing Mrs. V likes about her new husband is that he is quite willing to assist her with meals and the heavier work like windows and scrubbing walls.

Mrs. V thinks things might change when they move into their own home. "If I know I don't have to move soon then I'd like to buy a few things and really fix the place up. The kids are already planning on how they are going to do their rooms. It really should be fun."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 2

Mrs. V's mother was an inmate in a state school when she gave birth to Mrs. V. Mrs. V describes herself as illegitimate and has never known who her father was. She was brought up in a foster home from the age of four months to seven years. At seven, all of a sudden her mother showed up and took her to live in Ohio with her new husband. Mrs. V described her mother as a "wino" and admitted she never got to know her very well.

At fourteen, her mother was declared "unfit" as she was an alcoholic, and Mrs. V was sent back to her foster home. Mrs. V is obviously ashamed of her mother and seems to wish she hadn't existed. "My foster mother is much more my mother than her. She was never a part of my life." Mrs. V had many foster brothers and sisters. There was an endless stream of children but she seemed to stay the longest. She has not kept in contact with any of these people but she usually sees her foster parents every Sunday. They also speak to each other about twice a week on the phone.

Mrs. V has one good friend she has been close to about one year, who lives on the other side of town. They see each other once or twice a week usually at Mrs. V's house. Then they just sit around and talk, have coffee, or hot chocolate. Though Mrs. V sees her as a good friend, she clearly pointed out that her friend will confide everything to her but Mrs. V will rarely confide in her friend. "It's just too hard for me to spill my guts to anyone. So many bad things have happened to me, I just don't trust many people except my kids. Maybe being married again will help me get deeper with people and have more friends." Mrs. V mentioned she had even fewer friends and saw them less often while her former husband was still around the house. He would not allow her to talk on the phone or have people visit.

Mrs. V seems fairly isolated socially. She mentioned that the only person whom she really consults with is her oldest daughter. A likes to know what is going on and enjoys her mother's confidence. If Mrs. V were in trouble and needed help, she said that there used to be no adult she would really turn to for help. This is changing now that she has remarried. She tries to turn to her new husband for advice and support in coping with problems. Mrs. V describes her feelings this way, "What a relief, not to have to carry the whole burden on my back. But after all those years it's hard to share."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 4

Her foster parents could lend her money if she needed it in an emergency.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 5

Mrs. V has turned to the Department of Social Services many times for temporary assistance. She also keeps in touch with the teachers of her children. In addition, Mrs. V participated in a local clerical training program. Before this when she was looking for a better job, Mrs. V contacted the State Employment Service about jobs and training. She began a computer training course but it was too difficult and she had to quit. Mrs. V was successful in completing the work for her high school equivalency diploma in the evening classes sponsored by BOCES.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 5

Mrs. V does not belong to any clubs or organizations but was a volunteer leader of a group of girls B belonged to. The girls met once a week for one hour. There were thirteen girls, ages nine and ten. Mrs. V said she did not spend too much time on it but enjoyed working with them. The group planned activities to do and went on trips. Mrs. V goes to church quite often but is not active in any church programs.

Mrs. V has never registered or voted because her first husband refused to let her. He did not vote either and said it was "a waste of time" as it did not count anyway. Mrs. V plans to register next year and vote in the next election now that her former husband cannot stop her.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 5

When Mrs. V was desperate for money and he refused to help, Mr. Y would tell her to go get welfare. "I did this because I had to but I hated it." Over the last eleven years, Mrs. V has turned to the Department of Social Services for assistance seven times. The first time her case was opened for one month in 1962 when she quit her job at a local factory and she received money for food and rent. The next five openings spread over a period of seven years, ranged in length of time support was needed from four months to almost two years. In August 1970, Mrs. V received temporary help for just that month. Now that she is married and working in a new job as a secretary, Mrs. V hopes she will not be on public assistance again.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. V summarizes her attitude about being on public assistance and the Department of Social Services in this way: "Welfare is nice to have around when you need them, but I would not use it unless I have to." She thinks the Department should check on people better, as they are unfair to certain people. "Some on welfare have color television sets while others barely have enough to eat." She said "If a couple go up to welfare for help they receive practically nothing. But if a woman with children goes for help and if she has no husband, they will give her anything she wants." According to her caseworker, Mrs. V is a very aggressive woman with definite goals which do not include a life of being on welfare.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. V kept the money she earned to spend on the house and children, and Mr. Y kept his money. He refused to give her any money to run the house, but sometimes would pay for extra things. He would spend most of his money, if not all, on drinking and gambling. Mrs. V said he often stole money from her, but when she accused him, he would say she lost it. After a while, Mrs. V stopped arguing with him as it got her nowhere. Her former husband refused to pay bills. Once he decided to buy a television set and came home with one an hour later. "He would not pay one cent of the T.V. bill, and I was forced to keep up the payments."

Mrs. V does not anticipate these kinds of problems with Mr. V. "Before I married him, we both agreed on how we would handle money. I don't want to go through that hell again."

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

After her third child was born, Mrs. V had to go to work in January 1961 to help support the family. They were living in the village at the time so she found a job in a nearby factory. Mrs. V disliked her first job intensely. Not only did she find it extremely dull and routine, but she complained of how dirty she got from the machines all day. "The dirt got so bad, I could barely get myself clean and my skin became very irritated." Mrs. V also complained that the people around her were "dirty" in appearance and personality. She was quite young and felt she had trouble defending herself from the men who insulted her.

Mrs. V left that job in March 1962 when the family moved to Ithaca. The interval between March and October 1962 Mrs. V spent trying to relocate her family and getting them settled. Mrs. V found a job in a laundry as a shirt presser in October 1962. Mrs. V described this job as more like "home." She knew everyone at the laundry and found them nice to work with. "Not like that dirty old factory with those dirty old men." The best advantage of working at the laundry was that she got home early in the afternoon and did not have to work on Saturdays. One big disadvantage was that her salary varied from week to week depending on the amount of work to be done. Mrs. V was employed here steadily for seven years until March 1970. She felt very discouraged working at the laundry and complained of how dull it was to press shirts all day long. Mrs. V wanted a "cleaner, nicer job. "Seven years in the laundry was getting to be too much for me."

Through the encouragement of her caseworker, Mrs. V investigated a federally funded job training program designed to give women clerical and secretarial skills. She entered this program a few weeks after she left her job at the laundry and continued for seven months. During this time, she received monthly payments from the program for support of her family. At the end of the training period in October, she was offered a job as a clerk-typist at one of the local colleges and accepted it. Mrs. V is thrilled with her new job. The atmosphere of the college office she finds very different than the laundry. "At first I was scared but now it's beginning to be like home, too. They are all just people like at the laundry."

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 7

While Mrs. V lived in the village, her mother-in-law watched her children. This was a convenient arrangement and she was quite pleased with it. However, she was forced to find new arrangements when she moved to Ithaca. At first, a neighbor watched the children, but Mrs. V found her to be too strict and cruel. Then they moved again, and she found a licensed babysitter who lived down the block. A friend had recommended this to her. However, once her children were all in school, the woman was unable to watch them anymore. She did not want after-school children. Mrs. V does not need day care for her children since the children manage themselves now.

While she was still married to Mr. Y, Mrs. V was unable to make any attempts to improve her job status or complete high school. Her husband forbid her to better herself in these ways on the grounds that she was "too dumb to do anything but press shirts."

As soon as she was on her own in 1967, Mrs. V went back to school at night and received her high school diploma in July 1968. That year she went to the New York State Employment Service to inquire about job training. She desperately wanted to get a better job and realized this was the only way. However, they only offered her a business course which never materialized because of lack of funds. She still called them regularly to see if she could get any other training but they did not help her. Mrs. V took the post office exam but failed. She planned to take it again, but she found the "memory part" tricky. She began a computer-training course but it became too difficult and she had to drop out. After trying so hard to upgrade her skills, Mrs. V was delighted to receive the clerical training on a full-time basis and also have her family supported.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

In the past, Mrs. V has not enjoyed working and did so only for the money, unless she found a job she liked. Then she would probably enjoy working and not just do it for the money. This feeling is currently being reenforced by her present job as a clerk-typist. But even here her primary motivation for working is financial despite liking the job. "A woman's working helps the family because it can afford to buy things it ordinarily could not have. What with our new home and furniture, I'm going to have to work for quite a while."

Mrs. V would really prefer staying home, especially when they move to their new house. She feels being a housewife has more prestige than having a paid job. In general, she thinks working is harmful to a family because it takes the mother away from home too much. Mrs. V only left her family because her husband would not support her. Her oldest child was four and she had a newborn infant of four months when she went back to work.

Mrs. V is resigned to working for several more years using her newly acquired skills and is enjoying the kind of "nice clean" job she has wanted for so long.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 7

Ideally, Mrs. V would like to stay home even though she has reached her goal of receiving job training which made it possible for her to obtain a higher status job which is less strenuous and dull than her one at the laundry pressing shirts. Although she now feels comfortable at her new job and knows that she can handle it, she still is ambivalent in her attitude toward working. Her recent marriage has suddently increased her desire to stay home and be a full-time housewife. For the first time she could do this with the financial and emotional support of a husband. But buying a new home means that she needs to work to have money for the necessary remodeling and new furnishings. So Mrs. V has accepted this necessity and is just glad that she can be working where she is. With her persistence and ability to work hard, it is very likely that Mrs. V will receive a promotion within the next year or at the very least, an increase in salary.

Mrs. V has always wanted four children. Now that she has remarried, she may have another child. It is not known if she has been to Planned Parenthood since her marriage. Mrs. V has indicated that she "strongly agrees" that it is more desirable for a mother with pre-school children to stay at home than to go out to work. It is very possible that if Mrs. V became pregnant, she would find this an acceptable excuse to stay at home despite the financial pressures of owning a home. Assuming that Mrs. V does have a child within the next five years, she would still only be about thirty-six years old when her fourth child goes to school. Provided no new and serious problems occur as her children become adolescents, it seems likely that Mrs. V might still have almost thirty years available to be employed if she tired of being a full-time housewife.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 5

Mrs. V feels that working has affected her children in negative ways. The only bad aspect of her new job is that she works later in the afternoon than she did previously, not arriving home until almost 5:00 and it will be even later when the family moves out into the country. Even though the children are old enough to be on their own, Mrs. V regrets having to spend less time with them now. She also has felt that working over the years has meant that she had less time to spend seeing that her children were dressed neatly and were doing their homework. Even though she manages to keep in touch with their teachers, she feels that they are doing worse in school than they would do if she were home. One positive effect on the children of her working is that they are more independent than if she were home, accepting responsibility for jobs around the house and making decisions which they might rely on her to make if she were not working.

Working has not affected the way Mrs. V manages her home. This might change with the increased demands of owning a home with additional furniture and a bigger yard.

Working did not directly affect Mrs. V's first husband. He would not have supported the family whether she worked or not and was gone from his home more than he was there. Her present husband would like her to stay home if it were not for the new home. He hopes that after a few years "when we have caught up with things" that she can be home or at least have a part time job. On the other hand, he is really proud of her attempts to improve her job skills and of the kind of job she presently has. Mr. V helps her around the house and with the children. Since they both work nearby, they travel to work together.

Except for her first factory job, working has been beneficial for Mrs. V. She has found that she can cope with almost any situation which has come along, despite her unstable and traumatic childhood and her unhappy marriage. Supporting herself and being on her own gave her strength to live in one house without moving for the past four years and maintain it adequately, to maintain a close relationship with her children and to keep the same job for seven years. Mrs. V obtained her high school diploma, did volunteer work, and bought a car. She upgraded her job skills and found the kind of job she has really wanted for many years. And best of all, she has found a person in her new husband who can care for her and be respected by her. Her new job with its higher status and better working conditions and higher pay has increased Mrs. V's self-confidence and sense of well-being. She can now look back on all these achievements and accept how much she has accomplished through her own efforts.

IMPLICATIONS

Some individuals like Mrs. V have enough ego strength and determination to make it on their own, despite growing up in conditions which would have been very destructive and weakening to most people. Mrs. V could have accepted public assistance during all those years when her husband was not supporting her. Instead, she chose to work and only accept public assistance when absolutely necessary to supplement her own income. The important negative effect on a woman's development is clearly shown in this case. Her marriage to a weak and destructive husband increased her suffering rather than enabling her to establish a stable family life which included him like she had hoped. Mr. V tried to compensate for the failures of her husband by paying his debts, supporting the family and arranging for moving when necessary. She was particularly concerned about her children. Perhaps if help had been available to Mrs. V when she became pregnant, she would have decided not to marry Mr. Y and all this could have been avoided. Family therapy after they were married might have enabled Mr. Y to acknowledge his weaknesses and to receive the kind of emotional support he needed to handle his financial and drinking problems, or Mrs. V might have been strengthened to leave her husband earlier than she did in order to begin a new life on her own. It is clear that the community did not have the kind of job training resources which Mrs. V needed until just recently. The usual channels of the State Employment Service and classes at night did not help her, except for high school equivalency. Some people seem to have the inner resources to make it despite terrible obstacles and others who are more dependent and lacking ego strength have great difficulty in functioning adequately despite constant support from family, friends, and community agencies.

How is this inner strength developed? This case has shown the facilitative effect of a stable and loving foster mother. Perhaps the model provided by this mother gave Mrs. V the pattern to follow to hold her children together so the children would not be ruined by their destructive father.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. I AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 7

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 37
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 3 children
2 girls, 1 boy--ages 11 to 15

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: employed
Husband's usual occupation:
grocery clerk, factory worker

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed: 2
No. of years on welfare: 2

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: steady
Skills and training: bookkeeper
Usual occupation: clerical or clerk

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 75
No. of full-time jobs held: 2
No. of part-time jobs held: 1
Total no, of jobs held: 3
Longest period of employment: 62 mos.
Average job duration: 25 months
No. of months unemployed: 57
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 48mos.

chronology showing important changes in the family + 2

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1950				secretary in factory, 4 yrs		
1954		married	in service			
1955	child					
1956	child		grocery store clerk for 13 yrs.			
1959	child					moved back to Ithaca
1964				part-time furniture store		
1965				cashier in variety store 3 yrs.		
1967		Mexican divorce				
1968		lived together off and on		bookkeeper in factory to present	case opened and closed	
1969		8 mos. separation then re-united	found factory job		case re-opened and closed	received a large inheritance

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 4

Mrs. I was a reserved person who was unwilling to give more than minimal information. She has been a steady worker since she started working 6 years ago. She has had a total of three jobs, mainly clerical, only short times of unemployment, and has been on her last job three years. She does not enjoy working and works only for the money.

There are three children ages 11 to 15. The family lives in a large house which is well kept.

Mr. I was a steady worker until 1968 at which time he left town and the I's were divorced. He has come back to the family and things are going better since he has a better job.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 4.

Mrs. I seems to be a reserved, quiet person whose main interest is in being home. She is not at all ambitious for herself. Mrs. I says she is more of a listener than a talker. She thinks she is about average in her ability to organize others and get things done. Mrs. I says she is not at all patient during difficulties but she is also not able to speak her mind and assert herself. Instead she tends to blame herself when things go wrong. Mrs. I sees herself as somewhat tender and affectionate. She agrees that it should be enough for any woman to get respect through the accomplishments of her husband and children. She strongly disagrees that a wife does better to vote the way her husband does because he knows better. Mrs. I sees herself as about as competent and able to learn new things as most people she knows.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 4.

At present things are not going well for Mrs. I but she didn't want to say why except that she did not like working. Five years ago life was better and she expects it to improve in the future.

Mrs. I said there have been many rough spots in her life, but didn't want to mention them. The one in particular which she did mention was her 8 month separation from her husband in 1969.

Mrs. I seems to feel she has some degree of control over what happens to her.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5.

Mr. I is a laborer at a factory where he operates a saw. He seems to enjoy this job, as compared to his last job which was working in a grocery store for 13 years. He disliked working at nights and on Saturday.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 3.

Mr. and Mrs. I were married in July 1954 and were divorced in 1967 when Mr. I went to Mexico. However they continued to live together off and on until 1969. Then there was an eight month period of separation. During this time it was difficult for Mrs. I but she kept up her job and the children as usual. He sent money so there was no difference financially. Mrs. I seems more relieved than happy that he is back, but she managed to hide her feelings well.

Mr. and Mrs. I have an equal say in major family decisions. Their major area of disagreement is money.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 4.

Mrs. I appears to be concerned about her children. She feels that her role as a mother is a very important part of her life.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 4.

Mrs. I feels she is raising her children about as well as most people she knows. She disagrees that children should be taught that a person really doesn't know on whom he can count or that there is not much one can do about the way things turn out in life. But she does agree somewhat that they should learn not to expect too much out of life so they won't be disappointed.

Mrs. I indicates that she uses a variety of disciplinary methods. She is more involved in guiding the children's behavior than Mr. I.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4.

The I's have three children, 2 girls and a boy ranging in age from 11 to 15. Mrs. I is somewhat dissatisfied with how well her children get along with each other and how well they behave. She is very satisfied with how happy they are and how they are doing in school.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 4.

The family seems to have about an average degree of stability and cohesion.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 6

There is no indication of any health problems in the family.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 4.

The I's rent a 7-room house in which they have lived for the last five years. They feel it is better than the last place they lived in. The house is located on the edge of a city. The outside of the house is in good repair and the yard has an orderly appearance. Inside, the walls and ceilings are in good condition. There is no damage to the furnishings. The appearance of the home is quite neat and clean.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 4.

Mrs. I wishes she had more time for housework, and for preparing and cooking food. She finds it very difficult to care for her home.

Mr. I is somewhat satisfied with how the house is being run and the kind of meals that are prepared. Mrs. I gets some help with housework and shopping from her family and she gets a lot of assistance with repair jobs and outside chores from her husband. Mrs. I feels that husbands should help out with the housework. She thinks that is is important for the children to help with the housework when she is working.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 3.

Mrs. I's parents were born in Scotland. Her father and mother both finished 8th grade. Mrs. I's parents have been separated since she was 5 years old. She and her mother lived with her aunt and uncle in one house. Her father often visited. Her mother worked for 25 years as a cleaning woman for a college. Mrs. I said she never thought of asking her mother "why" she worked and supposed she must have somewhat enjoyed it. But Mrs. I seemed to think her mother's major motive was to support herself.

Mrs. I was brought up in a house full of adults. Her mother left to work every day, while her aunt remained home. Her uncle was a bartender through his working career. Her aunt and uncle both died a few years ago and Mrs. I's mother died last year. Her father is still alive but she does not see him often.

Mr. I's mother is now at a mental hospital, where she has been in and out for several years. Mrs. I said that she refuses to talk to people for days at a time, and it's usually a waste of time to visit her. Mr. I's father died several years ago. It seems that he always worked, and kept the same job for many years at a time, mostly service-type jobs.

Mrs. I has no brother or sisters. Mr. I has a married sister who took over the family house. She works as an aide in a school. He has a married brother living in Rochester who is a chef, but the family rarely hears from him.

Mrs. I could think of 10 friends to whom she talks and visits several times a month. One of these friends understands Mrs. I better than other people. Mrs. I has indicated that she does not go out much with her husband or her friends.

There is no relative or friend to whom she would turn for help or advice. Mrs. I seems to want to be independent and not feel that she needs assistance from other people.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 6.

Mrs. I recently received a rather large inheritance from a close relative.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4.

Mrs. I gave no indication of using any community agencies other than the Department of Social Services.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 4.

Mr. and Mrs. I belong to a fraternal organization. She does not attend church or PTA meetings and does no volunteer work.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7.

Mrs. I first applied for public assistance in November 1968 after her divorce from Mr. I. At this time Mr. I was working at a job in a grocery store which he had held for 13 years and gave her support money. She received public assistance for 3 months and then her case was closed. In March 1969, Mr. I quit his job and left for another nearby city and Mrs. I needed public assistance since he was not helping to support his family. Their case was closed in July 1969 when Mrs. I and her husband were reunited and he found another job in a factory.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5.

Mrs. I was glad that she had somewhere to go when she needed financial assistance. But she was even more happy when she didn't need to receive public assistance any longer. She expressed no generalized attitudes toward the welfare system. Mrs. I was uncertain whether women on welfare preferred to work or not, perhaps reflecting her own ambivalent feelings.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6.

Her financial situation is a very important problem to Mrs. I. Mrs. I has alot more say about how her money gets spent than her husband. She uses the money she earns to pay old bills.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

Mrs. I worked as a secretary in a factory for 4 years until she got married in 1954 and then quit her job to be with her husband who was in the service. He did not care if she worked, and as long as they could get along on his salary, she did not want to work. She soon had children, and just before her third child was born they moved back to Ithaca in 1959. She did not work until her children were in school, and tried part-time work first in a furniture store for one year until they moved and she had no transportation. For three years she was a cashier in a variety store. Mrs. I quit her job at a variety store because she was standing on her feet 10 hours a day and because of the odd schedules of working. From 1968 to the present she has worked in the bookkeeping department of a factory. Mrs. I does not enjoy her present bookkeeping job except for the people she works with.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 5

Mrs. I has never needed daycare as she never worked while her children were young. By the time she worked full-time in the variety store, Mrs. I felt they were old enough to be on their own for a couple hours after school. The biggest obstacle to Mrs. I's working is her attitude. She thoroughly resents having to work and would prefer to stay home.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2.

Mrs. I feels that the best way to obtain an income is through the husband working. Yet for the I family this wasn't providing an adequate income. Mr. I feels that Mrs. I should be helping to support the family. Her working makes him feel that he should be bringing in more income. However, Mrs. I says emphatically that the decision about her working is her decision. "If I think we are in good enough financial shape then I'll quit and that's that."

Mrs. I sees work as something that one must do, and can't imagine how someone could lika a job when it's something one is forced to do. Mrs. I did not like any of her jobs. However, if she has to work she would prefer to stay with a job that she knows she can handle than change to one where most things would be new to her. She has no aspirations for a better job. "a job is a job." Mrs. I doesn't enjoy her bookkeeping job now, but she tolerates it. She is not interested in training or job-hunting. She has found all her jobs by ads in the newspaper or by word of mouth.

Mrs. I feels that a mother with pre-school children should stay home and not work outside her home. Despite her feelings that working is nothing more than making a living, Mrs. I thinks children should learn that working hard really pays off in the future.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3.

Except for being able to pay off old bills, the effects of Mrs. I's working have all been negative. She hates going to work and it must be a very wearing thing for her to live with as well as for her family to endure. Unlike the experience of many women in the study, working has not opened up new horizens or greatly increased her self-esteem.

Her working must have had harmful consequences for Mr. I. It must have been a threat to his sense of being a man to have Mrs. I go to work when she was obviously so reluctant to do so. He continued to stay with the same job in the grocery which he disliked for four years after she started working. It wasn't until he went to Mexico and got the divorce and then stayed away from home for eight months that he changed jobs to one where he earns more money and which he likes better. It was at this point that he returned home to live again with Mrs. I and the children. Perhaps now that some of the financial pressure has lessened with his increase in salary and the inheritance from Mrs. I's kin, money will not be as much of a point of disagreement between them and he won't feel as threatened by Mrs. I's working.

Working has made it difficult for Mrs. I to keep up her housework. She complains that she doesn't have enough time to do the work that is needed even though she has some help from her family. Although she used this as an excuse of why she would like to quit working, she also readily complains how much she hates to work.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 3

It may be that Mrs. I will be forced to continue working because Mr. I will not earn enough money to cover the family's living expenses or the I's might separate again. If they separated Mrs. I might feel she didn't want to depend entirely on public assistance and there would be pressure put on her to work since her children are all in school. If neither of these situations happens, and Mrs. I feels that the family income is adequate without her working, she will most certainly quit her job and stay home.

IMPLICATIONS

The I family is one where there seem to be few problems in relationships, although the record is sparce since Mrs. I was not willing to talk much and was the only person who refused the second interview.

It is unclear why Mr. I left and got the divorce. Perhaps this was his means of becoming an independent person, able to break away from a secure, but unrewarding low paying job. Perhaps when he returned and was able to better support the family, he felt better about himself and his wife's working.

We get little picture of the children although the effect of Mrs. I's working since they are in school does not seem detrimental. The I's parents seem to have been steady and hard working and the children are having the same model presented to them.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. N AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY --2

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 51
Education: 10th grade
Race or Ethnic Background: white
Children and ages: 1 son

MARITAL

Current Status: married
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: none
Husband's age: 50's
Husband's education: elementary
Husband's work status: employed
Husband's usual occupation: sign painter

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: case closed
No. of times case closed: 3
No. years on welfare: 2 1/2

EMPLOYMENT Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: steady
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: domestic, factory

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 130
No. of full-time jobs held: 1
No. of part-time jobs held: 1
Total no. of jobs held: 2
Longest period of employment: 100 months
Average job duration: 100 months
No. of months unemployed: 2
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 2 months

Chronology showing important changes in the family -3

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other Changes
1937				factory work for 7 years		
1943			in service	WAC for 3 years		
1946			discharged, odd jobs	factory work		
1947				laundry, 7 years		
1951		married	factory work, 5 years			
1953	son			at home, 7 years		
1955			sign painter, sporadic employ.			
1959						moved to Ithaca
1960			sign painter for 8 years	ironing for others	case opened--closed	
1965					re-opened, closed	cancer operation
1968			delivery truck driver to present		re-opened, closed	
1969				housekeeper for organization's bldg., in exchange for rent		

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

Mrs. N has been classified as a steady worker although, in reality, some of this work has been in the home, as ironing and caring for the building where the family now lives rent free in exchange for her maintenance work.

Mrs. N. is in her late 30's or early 40's. She is still recuperating from a vaginal cancer operation she had 5 years ago. Her nationality is Dutch and Indian. She is a slightly plump woman with greying brown hair and a medium complexion. She wears glasses and walks with a slight limp.

Mrs. N is a warm, friendly person who was quite open and co-operative during the interviews. For instance she showed the interviewer all of her pets and even volunteered to show the interviewer her cancer operation.

The N's have one son, H, who is 16. Presently the only problem the N's have concerning H is his desire for a gun. Mrs. and Mr. N have been married since 6/7/51, and never have been separated. Compared to her parents, Mrs. N has probably increased her SES. Mrs. N lived with her grandparents. She did not know her father, but her mother lived on a farm and worked in a factory. All of Mrs. N's relatives live in Pennsylvania.

The N's have been on welfare only during times of unemployment and during the time Mrs. N's hospital bills were very high. Both have been steady workers and since they had only the one son have been able to get along with their good financial management.

The N family is close and they are happy as individuals and as a family.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 4

Mrs. N is an active and energetic woman who is quite content and happy. She is able to be optimistic despite a serious health problem. Mrs. N sees herself as a very happy person who is easy-going and natural. "I'm just easy to get along with. Comfortable like an old shoe."

Mrs. N, while exhibiting positive feelings about herself as a person, is still inclined to be quite traditional in thinking that women find their sense of achievement and satisfaction more through their children and husband than what they do independently. Mrs. N basically regards herself as a mother and wife. Her life revolves around these roles and she is quite satisfied with this arrangement.

Mrs. N has considerable difficulty giving five adjectives that others would use to describe her. She said that her friends had confidence in her and thought she was nice but a little nervous. They would think she was troubled sometimes.

Mrs. N does not know what adjectives her son would use to describe her except that he has called her a good mother, and that he was concerned when she was ill. He also considers her to be a good cook.

Mrs. N has less trouble thinking up adjectives which her husband would use to describe her. He would call her lovable, tempered, dependable, a good woman, and a good cook.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 5

The only low point in the N's lives was when Mrs. N had her cancer operation. Mrs. N felt that she could no longer cope with life and didn't think she would live. Now, however, she can once again take life in stride. Since her operation she has aged, but Mrs. N is very grateful that she has not had a reoccurance of cancer. Now her whole life has changed, and so has her attitude. Her family has changed their ways too. They no longer take her for granted. Mr. N is annoyed if she does something she is not supposed to. "H bought me a very nice pocketbook one Christmas." They missed her when she was gone to the hospital.

Mrs. N felt that things were going well when she was first married in that she and her husband were both working, but she admits that things are even better now. Her happiest time was when H was born. She said, "I was the happiest person alive."

Mrs. N thinks that if she had her life to live over again, she would go back to school. She always wanted to be a nurse or a veterinarian, and is always nursing some animal back to health. Mrs. N quit school at 16 when her grandmother was sick with cancer. When her grandmother died, she did not go back. Most of her school friends stayed in school. If he could do it over again Mr. N would like to be an artist instead of what he is now, a laborer, because he definitely has talent in art work.

Both Mr. and Mrs. N are fatalistic and feel that they can control very little of what happens to them. Mrs. N has no idea if things will be better or worse for her as a person in the future even though she is generally optimistic and feels that she is living on borrowed time. Mrs. N explained that she gets worried sometimes when she starts thinking about her cancer and wonders how long she has to live.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Mr. N graduated from high school. After his discharge from the service in 1946, he drifted from job to job until 1950 when he went to work as a heavy drill press operator in a factory. He settled down because he got married that year and needed money to support his family. He liked the money from the job but didn't like the heavy regimented work. The worst part of the job was the oil which soaked through his heavy leather apron and caused dermatitis of the thighs. He liked most of the people he worked with and drew cartoons of them, posting them on the factory bulletin board. Most of the men liked the cartoons. Some of his fellow workers were his neighbors so he would see them for picnics, softball games and an occasional drink. He left his job after 5 years because he felt stifled in it and wanted something more to his liking.

He was then employed off and on as a sign painter, findings jobs on his own or sometimes working for several months for a factory or business concern. In 1959 the family moved to Ithaca where Mr. N hoped to find a steady job. At first all that Mr. N could find were temporary jobs in the same line so that the family had to be on welfare for a short time. Then Mr. N found a job for a sign company which lasted until 1968. He really enjoyed this job because he could use his artistic talents. However, the company went out of business and Mr. N was laid off. After 6 months of unemployment, he found his present job as a delivery truck driver. Sometimes he likes his job and sometimes he does not. He likes the money, but does not like the truck which he is presently driving, because he feels it is not safe. He enjoyed his job of sign painting much more, and still does this when he has time and can find odd jobs.

Mr. N works mainly to support his family and to feel useful to himself. He feels he would still work even if he had all the money he needed in the world, expecially if he could do sign painting. He would like to go back to school especially if he could get some training in art work. Mr. N feels that the best jobs he ever had were the sign painting ones because they gave him the most satisfaction.

Mr. N feels that his wife might describe him as a normal kind of guy but he really didn't know how his friends might describe him. Mr N seems to be a competent and talented man. While traditional in his views on male and female roles, he is quite flexible about what his wife and child do outside their home. Mr. N does not function as head of the house in an over-bearing and unjust way. He enjoys his family and seems to be a contented and loving father and husband.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 3

Loving is the most important part of marriage to Mrs. N. Age differences and other factors are not as important. She would change nothing about her present marriage to Mr. N. They make their decisions by common consent although Mr. N has the final say. Mr. N couldn't think of any disagreements they have had in the past. They agree that the strengths of their marriage are their love for each other and their son, their pride in him that he hasn't turned to drugs, their closeness as a family and their understanding about money.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 7

H is the only child that Mrs. N has ever had, and she does not expect more, "for sure." If she could have chosen, she would liked to have many children, especially a girl. She enjoys children and she feels they make a home happy-"something to build life on." "The good thing about children is the love and enjoyment that can be given and returned." Mrs. N can not think of any bad things about children since she has not experienced anything that she considers to be unpleasant.

Mr. N also would liked to have more children. Since he grew up in an orphanage, he loves children.

A "good mother" to Mrs. N, "is a person who is good to the family, who takes care of things, and does not run around." She seems to fit this description well.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 7

For the most part the N's both agree on how to raise their son. If they ever disagree, they talk it over without anger. When it comes to disciplining H, Mrs. N. feels that she has had more to say. Perhaps H now is testing each of them to see whom he can get around most easily. She feels, however, that she is usually the more strict parent. Her husband's lack of strictness has caused a difference of opinion lately. H feels that he should be able to stay out late week nights and all night on week-ends, since he is older and Mr. N agrees but Mrs. N does not.

Mrs. N thinks that H has it easier than she had it. She said that although she always had enough, she was poor as a child with only 2 dresses at a time. Now H does not know the importance of clothes. He tore a new jacket and thought nothing of it. H has chores. He is to make his bed, take out the garbage, sweep the walk, etc.

Mr.N must remind him sometimes when he "forgets." The N's feel their responsibilities to their son are "to get him a good education and to prepare him for life and dealing with other people." They both feel that this is very important and take it very seriously. Mr. N would like his son to marry a woman like his wife. He hopes H's life is more varied than his was. He would like to see his son visit "far away places."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

After school, H comes home, has something to eat, talks to girls, eats dinner, reads a section of the newspaper, and goes out to a friend's house around 6:30, and returns around 10:00. He does not study and Mrs. N can not understand it. In school H is doing about average. He did all right other years except for English, which he took again in summer school. She has an idea that he "monkeys around" in school. H is very interested in mechanics, and would like to go into this in the future. At present he is taking mechanics courses. He used to like science courses in school too. He got a fish tank from a teacher. Mrs. N would like H to go on to college, but H says that they do not have enough money and he is not interested. Mrs. N is very disappointed about this and feels that somehow the family could manage financially. But she does feel that H's mechanical ability and interest is "just in him!" Her husband would like to see H do what he wants to do, so Mrs. N. doesn't have much hope that H will go to college.

Both Mr. and Mrs. N are very happy that their son has no serious behavioral or emotional problems and has not been "in bad trouble of any kind."

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 5

She feels that Mr. N is more tolerant of her son than is she and is quite close to him. The N's feel that their strength as a family is because they are very close. Their only main family problem came when Mrs. N underwent surgery for cancer. As a family they go camping, picnics, short drives, and shopping together. Mr. N tries to work with his son on their car as often as is possible.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 3

Mrs. N's biggest problem is her health. Following her operation in 1965 the doctor told her the cancer was "cleared up" but Mrs. N still worries. For her operation she was in the hospital for six weeks and was laid up at home for an even longer period. Neither Mr N. or H have any serious health problems.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

The N's live in an apartment in an attractive light gray wood frame house with white trim in the central part of the city. There is a small lawn containing trees and shrubs in front of the house. Inside the house a winding stairway covered with rubber mats leads to the apartment. Downstairs are the meeting rooms for a local organization which Mrs. N cleans. Mrs. N's front doorway leads into her living room. This room contains two red leather chairs on either side of the door, a sofa against a wooden partition leading into H's room, a television, a side table and several lights. The room is immaculate. There are several large fish tanks and many pets in her living room. To the left of the living room, H's room is small yet airy. The kitchen is small and old looking.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. N really enjoys doing housework and gets alot of satisfaction from this. She feels that she does an excellent job in keeping her home running smoothly and is proud of its clean neat condition. Mrs. N feels strongly that husbands should not help with housework.

H helps her to a limited extent. She does not feel that all the pets in an apartment create any housekeeping problem.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 3

Mrs. N was brought up by her maternal grandparents. Her mother was 16 years old when Mrs. N was born. During her childhood, she saw little of her mother because "her mother lived on a farm in the country." Mrs. N thought her mother did factory work. Her father was a watch repairman. He died before she was born.

Her grandmother did not work outside of the home. Mrs. N has always wanted to become a nurse and to help people, but she quit school when she was 15 years old to take care of her grandmother, who died the same year. In the past few years, Mrs. N has become closer to her own mother, who is living in Pennsylvania with Mrs. N's great aunt. When Mrs. N was having her operation, it was her mother who cared for her husband and son. She has one adopted brother whom she never sees or hears from.

Mrs. N felt that she does not see her other kin often enough. For instance, one cousin has had a baby and she has not even seen it yet. When they go to Pennsylvania they see her mother and then come right back. When she was living there she was closer to her relatives.

His mother died when Mr. N was 2 years old and his father when he was 5 years old. He was raised in an orphans home. He feels that he has a very good relationship with his wife's family.

Mrs. N feels that she does not see too many people outside of her husband and H. She has seven to eight best friends here, however. Since she has moved from Pennsylvania she feels that she does not know as many people, although she enjoys the people in her neighborhood. She shops with one friend 2 or 3 times a week. They often attend private sales where they may spend the whole day. She attends these sales to get gifts, bargains, and antiques.

Mr. N feels that his neighbors are his best friends and he sees them every day. He also goes to visit friends out of town once in a while.

When he isn't working or with family or friends Mr. N likes to do art work which is displayed around the house and watch sports on T.V. He has tropical fish that he takes care of as a hobby. He said he doesn't like to do anything by himself because he'd prefer to be with people.

In thinking about the people who understood her best, Mrs. N first named her husband and then hermother. Mr. N turns to his wife for understanding and advice.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 2

In a financial emergency, Mrs. N feels that she could turn to her mother for assistance although she has very limited funds.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

Mr. and Mrs. N make no use of any community resources at present. In the past they have had to turn to the Department of Social Services 3 times for temporary assistance.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 3

Mrs. N belongs to no clubs or organizations and does no volunteer work. Her husband belongs to a fraternal organization. They go together to some activities when the wives are invited.

Mr. N hasn't given much thought to improving the community but he thinks that by being a good person he could improve it a little. He reads a newspaper every day and a book only when it has been recommended to him.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 5

The N's first received public assistance in 1960 for four months because Mr. N was only working part-time. After he found a full-time job the case was closed. Then in 1965 when Mrs. N had her operation, their case was re-opened because of the medical expenses and loss of her income from ironing. This time they received public assistance for 7 months. The third and last time the N's were on welfare was for six months when Mr. N was unemployed in 1968. They are currently not receiving public assistance. Mrs. N's mother is on Old Age Assistance in Pennsylvania.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mrs. N thinks welfare is "good when you need it." She did not resent her caseworker and told her if the caseworker had any questions to ask her. She was not ashamed of being on public assistance, but she was glad to get off. The Department of Social Services helped her a great deal when she had her cancer operation. To improve welfare, she thinks people should be given more money. She just could not pay her bills with the money given her. "Also they should get people off of the rolls who were getting away with things." Her husband felt that "they investigated too much."

Mr. N feels "The welfare system is very good to people who are blind or disabled and can't work for a living, but it has too many loopholes in it for free-loaders to slip thru and get aid they don't deserve." He knows of families near him who are on welfare and has himself been on public assistance. He didn't like being on welfare because it made him feel useless when he couldn't support his family himself. He hasn't given much thought as to how to improve the system but feels "maybe by closing the loopholes in it we could make it a better thing for all the people who really need it." But he did not say how this could be done without more "investigation."

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. N is very satisfied with her present financial situation. Mrs. N has always kept track of all of the money. When she was in the hospital, Mr. N was quite confused when he had to pay the bills. He gives her his check, and she writes down where she spends the money. If there is any left over they save it, and use it when they need it. Mr. N feels that his wife is the best financial manager in the world so he leaves the money-handling to her.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

After her grandmother died, Mrs. N got a job working on knitting machines in a factory. She quit this job to join the service as a WAC in 1943. After completing her service, she returned to the factory where she worked until 1947. At this time she began working in a laundry, as a shirt presser. In 1951, Mrs. N was married but continued to work in the laundry until 1953 to keep their household running. She stayed at home then, with her son and devoted most of her attention to him. For two years she cared for two children in her home. In 1959 when Mr. N was laid off from his factory they decided to move to Ithaca. Mrs. N began to do ironing in homes to earn money that she could spend as she wished. This was always on a part-time basis.

Mrs. N stopped taking in ironing in 1968 because her business was becoming too large for her to handle. "I had a good reputation." Also she had an operation for vaginal cancer that same year. In 1969 she acquired her present job as a caretaker for an organizaion and gets free rent. She feels that her job level has improved. Mrs. N obtained her present caretaking job through an advertisement in the newspaper and an interview. She said that if she had not gotten this job she would probably not be working now since her husband has adequate income. Her job consists of mainly keeping the building clean, turning lights on, and keeping the building open.

Mrs. N stated that she thoroughly enjoys her job. What she expecially enjoys is her ability to choose her own hours. Mrs. N stated that she has never felt like quitting her job. She has lived in too many apartments not to appreciate her present situation. Nothing could be better!

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 3

Mrs. N feels that she has an ideal job. If she were to have another kind of job, her health would be a very important problem.

In addition, her husband's resistence to the idea of working in a "regular" job would be hard to overcome.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mr. N feels that some women are career-minded and some work out of necessity. He really didn't know how other men feel about having their wives work but as for him, he has never allowed his wife to work for any reason outside their home. The cleaning she does and ironing for families he does not consider as regular jobs. He would not let her go back to school in order to get a better job because he feels she is too old. He says that the only advantage to having his wife work would be the extra money every week but that the disadvantage of running a makeshift home is too great to even allow him to consider letting her work. In essence Mr. N thinks he would feel neglected and threatened if his wife had a regular job and he likes the present arrangement of having her work very close to home.

Mrs. N stated that if she could have any sort of job that she wanted, she would stay right where she is presently employed. "This is an ideal job." Even if she had all the money she ever needed, she would stay right there. She feels that most women want to work for money, or to meet people, or to get away from their children. Mrs. N. said that she never wanted to work to get away from her son. Most men she has talked to want their wives to work to help out.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 2

Because of her age and her satisfaction with her present work situation, it is doubtful if Mrs. N will ever seek any other kind of job outside her home. The only motivation which would seem strong enough for her to attempt to overcome her husband's strong feelings against her working and her own lack of motivation would be if H decided to go to college and Mrs. N felt that by working she could help him financially and thus make a contribution towards his education which she so strongly desires him to have.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 5

The effects of her present working situation on Mrs. N and her family have all been positive. She likes the kind of work she is doing and feels that it has more status than the ironing she used to do. Working has given her a sense of having greater influence in family decisions and a feeling that she is making a concrete contribution to the income which they all share. Her husband is not threatened by this job because he feels that it is more or less extending the work she does in her apartment. Mrs. N is usually available to meet his needs and those of his son so he approves of her working. Since H is gone from home most of the time, now that he is almost on his own, the fact that his mother works part-time has little effect on him.

IMPLICATIONS

The N family shows a great deal of solidarity. Both N's were mature at the time of marriage and had both been in the service during the war. Both were hard workers and had had a variety of jobs. Mr. N retains the traditional views of women as being homemakers but it is interesting that he can accept the type of work a woman can do in her own home as nonthreatening or disruptive.

The effect on interpersonal relationships which a serious illness can have is shown in this case. The financial demands made it necessary to have assistance, which was negative for the pride of the family. But on the other hand, the threatened loss of Mrs. N because of the seriousness of her operation, has seemed to bring the family closer together psychologically. The family is very happy at this time and probably will continue to be so for several years unless there is a major change in their situation. There is acceptance of H as a person and acceptance of his plans for the future.

The contrast between this family, showing stability and solidarity, as opposed to so many of the other cases, perhaps can be accounted for by the conditions under which the marriage was undertaken. In so many of the other cases, the marriage was between two immature people who had had few experiences of working and living before they were married. Many of the other families also had one or more babies very soon after marriage and in addition, most of them had many more children than the family could adequately provide for. These conditions created situations much more difficult to cope with.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. D AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 3

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 41
Education: 14
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 3 children
1 boy, 20-1 boy, 12
1 boy, killed at age 13

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on pub. assistance
No. of years on welfare: 5

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: steady
Skills and training: bookkeeper
Usual occupation: bookkeeper, waitress

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 129
No. of full-time jobs held: 6
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: 6
Longest period of employment: 59 mos.
Average job duration: 21 months
No. of months unemployed: 3
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 2 mos.

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1945				attended business school		
1946				1st bookkeeping job		
1949		married	in service only home some weekends			
1950	child					
1953	miscarriage					
1957	child	divorced		bookkeeper for local firm 8 years		
1958	child					almost died in childbirth due to hemorrhaging
1961					case opened for 2 mos.	
1965				bookkeeper, smallfirm-Mrs.D accused ofgrand larceny	case opened for 3 mos.	1st son developed delinquent behavior. Case in court 2yrs. Mrs.D lost CPA license
1966				waitress	case opened to present	partial hysterectomy
1968				waitress		hysterectomy and hematoma depression. Counselling.
1969				waitress		1st son in service, 2nd son killed in hunting accident, 3rd son had difficult adjustment
1970				waitress		1st son accepted at college

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 4

Mrs. D was classified as a steady worker since she worked at one place for eight years and only changed jobs when difficulties with her children forced her to. She has only stayed at home as long as required because of serious illness. Her health continues to be of concern.

Mrs. D is a forty-year old woman of attractive physical appearance currently working as a waitress. She has been divorced for fourteen years and has three children, all boys. The older boy had trouble with the law but finally was able to join the service and is now expecting to go to college when he is released from the service. Her middle boy was recently killed in an accident and this has caused emotional problems with the youngest who was very close to this brother. Mrs. D was a Certified Public Accountant but had a legal charge against her which forced her to stop working in business and take a waitress job. Mrs. D has raised her children by herself and has found the job of finding good child care one of her major problems. She attributes some of the problems with the children to the lack of adequate after-school arrangements for children.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 2

Mrs. D is a woman of strength who has endured much pain in her life. She is aggressive and volatile in temperament. "When I get angry, I scream, rave, and direct my anger at the cause of it." Mrs. D said that she's not out to win a popularity contest, if people don't like her, it doesn't bother her. With someone she likes, she wants to be frank. "I like to be honest and open with people." She said she's not the type to be nice to someone and then talk about them behind their back. That is probably why she has the reputation of having a nasty disposition. Mrs. D does not consider herself at all cautious, but rather as a person who speaks her mind and asserts herself. Mrs. D has strong opinions on many subjects. She is ambitious for herself and her children. She feels that she is efficient and good at organizing others.

Mrs. D feels that women should be recognized for what they accomplish themselves, not be merely reflections of their children and husband. This has not been a problem for her. She feels quite competent to handle most situations at work or home but is usually willing to seek guidance if she feels she needs it.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 2

Mrs. D looks back on her life and thinks about all the adversity she has had to cope with. "Sometimes I don't know how I've done it." All the disappointments and traumatic situations have given her a certain kind of endurance and strength but the one thing she would change in her life is to "not have so much rotten luck." These experiences have given Mrs. D an outlook on life which she describes like this: "I just live from day to day doing the best I can. There is not much I can do about what happens to me from outside. But I sure can see that people don't mistreat me or my kids. If it's something I can fight, I will."

Mrs. D said that the best times of her life were when all three of her boys were home with her. When she was first married that was a good time also because she thought that she was in love, and she and her husband really got along well. The worst time was when her son was killed. Mrs. D thinks that things will be going better five years from now because her younger son will be adjusted better to his brother's death. He will be older and hopefully more mature. Her older son will probably be married. Mrs. D said that the future would definitely be better money-wise, especially if she goes back to office work.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

Mrs. D married at nineteen and had her first child soon after. Throughout their marriage, Mr. D was in the service and only came home for weekends. She said the main reason that her husband stayed in the service was because he had a fear of being "a common laborer." When they were married, before their child was born, Mrs. D said that she and her husband didn't really disagree about anything - they had lots of good times - life was a ball. The main decisions were always left up to her because her husband wasn't there. "But also he didn't like responsibility, didn't like to make decisions. He was really a child himself and didn't want the responsibility of children. When he first found out I was pregnant, he was very disappointed." She said that this was because it curtailed their good times. When Mrs. D's troubles began, she had her kin to fall back on financially as well as emotionally. She divorced her husband in 1957, three months before giving birth to V, the son who was killed.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 3

Mrs. D said that if she had a chance to remarry she probably wouldn't, but she is not entirely sure about this. She used to date a lot, and tried to make it quite clear that she didn't want to remarry, but she still had three men ask her. "I had a hard time getting rid of them." She said that this was more because of the prospect of marriage than because of them. The reasons for her fear of marriage are because she has been alone too much. "If I got married, I'd have to conform to a standard way of life." She also said that "I don't like to be handled; even if I liked them a great deal, I would become nervous, irritable, I'd try to hold myself back, would probably lose my mind. I can't force myself to be nice to someone or show something I don't feel."

Mrs. D is currently dating a man who would like to marry her. She is uncertain what she wants to do. "I wish he'd just go away; yet I do like him. What a bind!"

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 3

Mrs. D said that she would have dearly loved to have had a little girl, but she was really happy with her three boys. Mrs. D gets a lot of satisfaction from her children, but she wonders a lot about how she functions as a mother. "Even if they're home, they still can go around with kids you don't like or go places you don't want them to be." She worries most about being able to handle any situation that might come up in the correct way. "They must be taught right from wrong now; your responsibility is a big one and you don't always know if you're doing the right thing."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 3

Mrs. D says that her children and her friends think she is a good mother, but that she is not sure about this. "I probably could have done better with some things. Some decisions were really wrong." With her older son, if she had realized sooner what his needs were and what he was really doing, she might have been able to help him. But she was working and just not aware until it was too late and her son was "out of hand." Mrs. D felt that he "went around with a bad crowd." Another view of the relationship between her working and her care of the children is expressed by her case worker:

"Being aware of her children appears to be one of Mrs. D's problems. She has often left the children during the summer months and after school to fend for themselves. Mrs. D never really attempts to have her hours correspond with her children's."

Mrs. D seems to have come to the realization that her older son's delinquency might be related in part to her working. She is determined not to repeat this mistake again. "Even if my younger son gets into trouble, at least I'm sure inside me that I know what is going on with him and have tried my best and have gotten all the help I could."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Her children's functioning and behavior have been a constant problem for Mrs. D. Her oldest boy, U, was born shortly after she was married. Since his father was gone most of the time in the service, Mrs. D raised him essentially by herself while she was working. It was very difficult for her to make adequate child care arrangements and she thinks this may have affected him, because he was "left out on his own, treated as too much of an individual, had too much responsibility." While Mrs. D was going through the trauma of being accused of theft and spending much of her time in court and with her lawyer, her son dropped out of the ninth grade because of "headaches" and loss of interest, and delinquency patterns. He was placed on probation but violated it several times. He was sent to an upstate boys work camp and later to training school for boys.

Soon after he returned home U was in trouble with the school principal, and not much later picked up for loitering. He was given the choice of making a statement against his friends or going to prison for three years. His mother made him make the statement so he wouldn't be prevented from going into the service because of a record. Since then, U has joined the service and has done well rising to the rank of corporal in Vietnam. He received a high school equivalency diploma also. He recently learned that he has been accepted at a college. Although he seems to be having somewhat of a "drinking problem" according to Mrs. D, she has very high hopes now for her oldest son. Mrs. D thinks that the service has been very good for U. It allowed him to develop a new perspective on many things. She said she didn't know anything about college until he had been accepted. Mrs. D said that she had pushed and pushed U to try to get him to go back to high school, but finally she decided that she was doing more harm than good and decided to talk about it only when he asked her. This boy wants to be a probation officer when he finishes school. Mrs. D thinks that he would be a very good one - with personality, charm, ability to be stern, as well as knowing all the tricks.

Her middle son, V, was born out-of-wedlock three months after Mrs. D's divorce according to the case record. A year later W was born. V was killed in a hunting accident in the fall of 1969. Since then his brother has refused to go to school in the mornings. W has been attending in the afternoons, and then spending the evenings at his mother's place of work watching T.V. and talking to people. He is also doing poorly academically and is antagonizing his teachers and the principal.

Mrs. D says she is not going to force him to go back to school and she is very upset at the attitude of the principal. "All he kept talking about is how W is absent illegally - not how he is feeling. He is just worried about losing money for his school." Mrs. D does not want to turn to the school psychologists or other personnel who might help W because she feels that they don't have time to help him and do more harm than good. She is now trying to decide where to seek help. Mrs. D is very aware that her first priority is her son and says that she will not let working interfere with giving him the attention and assistance he needs now. "Even if I lose my job, W comes first."

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 4

There has been little opportunity for the D family to become a cohesive whole. While she was married, Mrs. D was working constantly and her husband was only home a few days of the month. After her divorce, she has had a series of crises with her children, her health, and her work. In dealing with all this, Mrs. D has not been able to spend much time with her children. Each of the family members has had to live a rather independent and separate existence with only a limited amount of interaction with the rest of the family. This probably is changing with her older son about to return home. He may be living with the family and is now much more mature and aware of what is currently happening to his brother. And Mrs. D is willing to spend the necessary amount of time at home with her children even if it means losing her current job or working part time.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 2

Mrs. D has had constant trouble with her health. She is a "bleeder," having a slow clotting time. It was necessary for her to have transfusions when she had operations. Mrs. D used to be anemic but is over this condition. Several years after the birth of her first child, Mrs. D had a miscarriage. When her youngest child was born she almost died because of hemorrhaging. Mrs. D also has a heart murmur. During the last five years, she has had a partial hysterectomy and later a total one because of cancer of the uterus. Shortly afterwards, she developed a hemotoma. Then she went into a state of depression and consulted a psychiatrist. She thinks one of the main reasons she was depressed was that she was out of work for nine weeks without being able to do much at home either. After she returned to work, she felt much better.

Her oldest son had mononucleosis right before he went into the service in February 1969. Her younger children did not have any apparent health problems.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 3

Mrs. D lives in a rather run-down apartment building in a central part of the city. It is rather small but adequate for her and her son. Inside the apartment, the rooms and furnishings are in a rather neglected and worn-out condition. It is obvious that Mrs. D spends little time at home and is not overly concerned about seeing that the necessary repairs and replacements are made inside her apartment.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 4

Mrs. D spends little time at housework. Most of her meals are eaten at the restaurant where she works. Her son eats there, too. Both Mrs. D and W do what is necessary to provide clean clothing for themselves and to keep the apartment livable, but not much more than this.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 6

Mrs. D has two brothers who live out of the state. She rarely sees them and does not keep in close touch with them at all. Her mother lives on a farm nearby with Mrs. D's step-father and comes to visit quite frequently. Of all the members of her immediate family, Mrs. D feels closest to her sister who lives in a village not too far away. She sees her two or three times a week and lived with her after the birth of her youngest son for several months.

Her closest friend at present is the woman in charge of the restaurant where she works. Mrs. D sees her almost every time she goes to work. But generally, Mrs. D does not consider herself a very socialable person. "I use that word 'friend' loosely after some of the experiences I've had. I really found out who my friends were when all this scandal was going on." Mrs. D has been forcefully affected by the gossip and lack of understanding of people she knew after she was arrested for grand larceny. What people think about her is not too important to Mrs. D. If she can easily establish an honest open relationship with a person then she feels she has a friend. But if this is not possible, then friendship with that person is not something she pursues.

When she was seeing a psychiatrist, he recommended that she attend the singles group. Mrs. D tried going to a few meetings but felt that it was a very unrewarding experience and has not been back since. During the little free time she has, Mrs. D knits a great deal and she reads a lot. She is also typing term papers for students.

Mrs. D is quite receptive to outside help for herself and her children. She has gone to the professional staff in agencies as well as to individuals. Mrs. D knows a minister to whom she turns for advice and emotional support when she is upset. She said that she is the type of person that people come to for help. Sometimes she asks them if they want her to tell them what they want to hear or the truth.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 6

Mrs. D has more financial resources to rely upon in an emergency than most people. She can borrow money from her employer and her mother and her sister. In the past, she has lived for short periods of time with both her sister and her mother.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 5

Mrs. D has used community resources a great deal. When she was having trouble with both her sons, she was involved with school principals, psychologists and the school social worker. In addition, she has received counseling from a local family agency and from a psychiatrist. Mrs. D has been in the hospital several times, also. She attended a group for single people for a short time.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 3

Mrs. D does not now belong to any clubs and rarely attends church or P.T.A. meetings. She does not do any kind of volunteer work. "I have a hard enough time just keeping myself and my own family together. There is just no time or energy to give out to others."

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 4

Mrs. D's case was opened at the Department of Social Services in December 1961 for a period of two months. At this time she received dental and medical help for her oldest son. In 1965 Mrs. D received a grant for three months for food and clothes for her children. The following year Mrs. D was receiving public assistance again because she was in debt and no longer receiving support from her former husband. Her case was closed in two months. In July she began to receive ADC partial support which pays for her rent and utilities. This assistance is still being continued.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. D strongly disagrees with the statement that a "mother drawing welfare payments who cannot earn much more money by working should stay on welfare." She thinks that a mother with pre-school children should not stay at home but go out to work. "Welfare shouldn't be given which pays a woman to stay home and care for her children. An individual is not entitled to such support and loses their self-respect if they take it." Perhaps Mrs. D can feel this way because she has the security of kin to fall back on. Clearly she disassociates herself from "those others" on welfare far beneath her. Mrs. D said she didn't really know too much about welfare. "They have always been adequate and fair with me and they are even trying to locate my husband to get money from him." She said if he sent money then she wouldn't be on public assistance.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 4

Mrs. D said that when she was married her husband sent her money and she also had her own money. She took care of the bills which were nominal. After her divorce, she always had her family to fall back on as far as money goes. Mrs. D says she is a good manager because of her business experience.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

Throughout her work history, Mrs. D has had bookkeeping jobs beginning in 1946. She was trained for this in the two-year business school which she attended after high school. About five years ago through counseling at a local agency, Mrs. D decided that it would be better for her family if she gave up her very responsible and demanding job as a bookkeeper for a local firm which she had for eight years. This was about the time that U started being delinquent. It was suggested to Mrs. D that it might be better if she took a less responsible type of job, like waitressing. Mrs. D compromised by starting to work as a bookkeeper for a smaller company.

After a few months she was accused of embezelling $8,000 and was taken to court. She feels that the whole episode had a bad effect on her children and herself. The case dragged on for two years. Mrs. D said at one point she wanted to plead guilty and get it over. For a long time she was ashamed to go downtown. But finally she won the case. Mrs. D learned from this that "You can't really care too much about what people think of you, because they will think what they want to think." People who know her understood, but others were eager to gossip.

Since the scandal, Mrs. D has lost her CPA license and has resorted to waitressing. Within the past two years she has had three different jobs. Her main reasons for leaving have been problems getting along with the people there or the restrictions and regulations. Mrs. D enjoys waitressing and meeting people, but would prefer to be back with "her math and machines " in an office job.

Both of Mrs. D's parents finished high school. She says her mother never worked because "the family was old-fashioned and a mother didn't work if she didn't have to." Her father deserted his family while she was a young child but the family apparently had relatives to fall back on, and later got some insurance when he was declared "legally dead." Soon afterwards her mother was remarried to a man with a large farm. Mrs. D felt that her own mother was "quite a bit better off" than she is now.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 5

At first Mrs. D's mother took care of the children while she worked and there were no particular problems. When she stopped relying on her kin for child care, Mrs. D no longer felt as secure about her arrangements. Her first sitter was a heavy drinker who "showed favoritism between the kids." This same sitter refused to care for the older boy who was eight at the time. When Mrs. D found out about the drinking she moved because the sitter was her landlady. This next sitter was a young girl who "couldn't handle the kids," and would "get locked in the closet by the children." When she was dismissed it became the older boys job to get them off to school. After school they'd go next door to wait for their mother. She felt this arrangement was satisfactory, but there was no place for the children to play and U was getting involved with some delinquent activity. Now, of course, there are no child care problems as such since her son is old enough to be on his own. However, after her experiences of the past, Mrs. D is uneasy about leaving W home alone.

The most significant obstacle facing Mrs. D is her return to the kind of work for which she has been trained is obtaining her CPA license again. In addition, she will need to work through her strong feelings about what she went through over the alleged embezzelment and overcome her fear about re-entering the business world.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

For Mrs. D, work has been therapeutic. When she feeling depressed, just the return to work made her feel more alive and healthy. Her case worker states, "Work seems to be a positive factor for Mrs. D. She seems to have to work to please and gratify herself.

Mrs. D likes to have a job which has status. She enjoys being a waitress but misses the recognition she received when she was a bookkeeper. The most important aspects of a job to Mrs. D are a chance to make use of her skills and an interesting job with a good salary. Mrs. D thinks maybe someday she will learn computer programming. Her ideal job would be similar to the position she held for eight years. She said she liked "the analytical, statistical part, the machine part, everything." Her dream is that through working she will be able to send her oldest son to college.

To Mrs. D work has always been very important. Although Mrs. D's own family did not approve of a mother working, she felt that her husband didn't mind. Mrs. D thinks that most women enjoy working because of the extra money, independence, and getting out of the house. She admits she has only had contact with women who have worked and therefore only knows that viewpoint. She said that she didn't think that most men minded their wives working, as long as it doesn't curtail their pleasures or comforts. "Lots of men actually wanted their wives to work because with the high standard of living it was often necessary to have two incomes."

Mrs. D's suggestion of what the government could do to help working women is based on her difficulties with children: "to concentrate on the problems that these women face who have children and organize projects to help the children so that they will have something to occupy them and at the same time be constructive. These projects should be headed by expert and trained personnel who understand their needs."

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 5

Mrs. D is hesitant to use her bookkeeping and secretarial skills since her arrest. It is to be hoped that the passage of time will have a healing effect on Mrs. D and she will, therefore, be able once more to find a job in her own field. She will also be more ready to do this when her youngest son is through high school and either in the service or college or on his own so that she will feel free from family responsibility. Then she will be able to work with undivided loyalties and become very involved in her work in the way which is meaningful to her.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 4

The effects of working for Mrs. D are all positive as has been noted. For much of her life, work has provided the stabilizing force which has enabled her to cope with all the trying situations which have come her way. However, for the children, her working has at least been partially the reason why they have become involved in delinquent behavior and had such problems at school. Her case worker says, "Her working has always had negative effects for the children. Since her work denied them the attention they needed, many disciplinary problems have developed."

Mrs. D is very conscious of being a "good mother" and this whole question of why her sons have such problems is difficult for her to understand and deal with. Mrs. D has conscientiously sought help when she or her sons needed it. Through these experiences she has a greater sensitivity and awareness of how her working effects her as a person and her children.

IMPLICATIONS

Mrs. D's case is one in which the conflict of being a mother and a breadwinner at the same time is brought into clear focus. Mrs. D was skilled and enjoyed working, but at the same time her involvement in her work made it impossible for her to keep track of her children and to be as aware of their needs as she should have. There are many women like Mrs. D and the fact that she had trouble finding reputable and competent baby sitting is typical of thousands of women. Even after her children went to school there was a tremendous need for constructive activities for the children. Her total situation might have been entirely different if there had been the supportive child care services she needed.

Mrs. D is now very involved with and conscious of the difficulties her children have had, but one wonders if she had a choice, whether she would have had the last two children who, in all innocence, have compounded her problems. With her commitment to work, it seems likely she would not have chosen to have those two, and certainly would not have been a happy mother if she had stayed home with them.

Mrs. D's unfortunate legal situation had a profound effect upon her life. Since she was vindicated, according to the record, she was indeed the victim, as many working people are, of fate beyond her control. She also suffered the traumatic event of her middle child being killed. These types of events as well as catastrophic illness like Mrs. D also had, beset many and create family situations where there is the need for supportive agencies and services in the community. Mrs. D has been able to make use of these and there is the hope that she will become more comfortable with herself and be able to deal emotionally with her remaining two children. She feels a great deal of pride that the older one is going to college.

In terms of her long time job situation, it would seem that supportive help from a case worker could help her get in an office where she could at least use her stenographic skills even without her CPA. This might give her confidence to reapply for the CPA. One wonders about the value of taking a waitress job rather than a stenographic job in terms of the impact on the children. Perhaps it was necessary for a time because of her credibility but waitress work appears to be less good in terms of hours than a business related job.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. Q AND FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY - 2

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 52
Education: 4th grade
Race or ethnic background: Polish
Children and ages: 4 children
1 girl, 3 boys--ages 13 to 21

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: none
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: 4th grade
Husband's work status: unemployed
Husband's usual occupation: farm hand

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current Status: on public assistance
No. of times case closed: none
No. of years on welfare: 11

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: working
Work typology: steady
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: laundry and kitchen

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 102
No. of full-time jobs held: 3
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: 3
Longest period of employment: 64 mos.
Average job duration: 37 mos.
No. of months unemployed: 20
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 14 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 2

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1940 to 1957			farm and factory work in Poland and Germany	farm and factory work in Poland and Germany		
1945		married				
1947	child					
1949	child					
1951	child					
1957	child		farm hand			came to USA
1959					case open to present	Mr. Q injured back
1960				hospital kitchen		
1962				home for a year		Mrs.Q back troubls
1963				laundry		
1965				home for six months then college kitchen to present		Mrs.Q ulcer and pneumonia

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

Mrs. Q is a 52-year-old Polish immigrant who, with her husband, has been in the country for 13 years. She is neat and plain-looking, rather sturdy, with grey hair and simple clothing. Mrs. Q is still married to her first husband ahd has four children ranging from 12 to 23 years. The three sons are self-supporting and the 13-year-old daughter is in high school. Only Polish is spoken in the house. Mrs. Q has been plagued by poor health, which has affected her work and her feelings about herself and her future. She has had back trouble off and on and has also suffered from an ulcer and pneumonia. Mrs. Q is very "down-to-earth" and willing to talk about herself and her family. She can perhaps best be characterized as a hard worker.

Despite her health problems and rather pessimistic view of what will happen to her and her family in the future, she is strongly determined to remain as independent as possible. Mr. Q injured his back two years after coming to this country and has not been employed since then. Mrs. Q, while finding work personally satisfying, resents having to assume the role of wage-earner for the family and feels strongly her husband should at least try to find a part-time job. This conflict has affected their mutual relationship. Mr. Q seems quite despondent and resigned to his role as a non-worker, having little hope for the future except for his children.

The family has been dependent on welfare for the last 11 years, since Mrs. Q doesn't earn enough to be self-supporting. The relationship with the Department of Social Services has been an unhappy one, filled with mistrust and apprehension on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Q.

Mrs. Q has been classified by us as a steady worker. The only interruptions in her work pattern were due to health problems. Mrs. Q began work 4 years after arriving in the States, when her husband injured his back. She worked in a hospital kitchen for a year-and-a-half and then quit because of back trouble and worry over the care of her 4 year old daughter. After a year, she returned to work again for 19 months in a laundry until she caught pneumonia and developed an ulcer. She then took a new job at a University cafeteria, where she has been working for the past 4 years. Mrs. Q says she likes the kind of job she has now but would change if she could make more money.

The only problem with her job is transportation. Working is a way of life to Mrs. Q. It is her main contact with the world outside her home.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 5

It is difficult for Mrs. Q to view herself in any other way except in terms of the social roles which are an important part of her life. Her self-esteem centers around her being able to help herself. If something happens so that she is not able to do this, then her self-esteem drops. As long as conditions such as good health prevail, she feels that she can be somewhat independent and a "good person." Mrs. Q was unable to give any sort of opinion as to how her friends and her family would describe her. With some prodding, she finally said that they would probably say that she was a hard worker. She added "I don't know people's feelings, my children's feelings .... My children like me, they think good of me as a mother." Even though Mrs. Q seems to have a rather vague and undefined self-concept, she is a strong and competent woman, who feels that she is in charge of her own life and that of her family. She is making her own way and being responsible. Despite these strengths, Mrs. Q seems to be basically an unhappy person, because she keeps all her worries and problems inside herself,except what she occasionally shares with her children.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 5

Mrs. Q 's philosophy could perhaps best be summed as follows: "I don't care what people say to me. I just help myself, my life -- that's all. As long as God gives me strength, I help myself." She is cautiously optimistic about the future, feeling things will get better if she has no more health problems. "I want to make a future for myself when I quit working and my daughter is gone from my home. My future is not Welfare." Mr. Q is much more pessimistic and has little hope for the future for himself and his wife, feeling that it will "not be good since we will be dependent very much on help from others."

Things were probably at their worst for the family between 1959 and 1961. This was the period between the time her husband stopped working because of his back injury and the time she started working at the hospital when all 4 children were small. They moved to Ithaca from the country in 1959, and Mrs. Q hated this because of her love for rural living. They had almost no money and were on welfare during this time. Mrs. Q feels that the best times she had were before she was married. She lived in the country, was doing work that she liked, and did not have to worry about supporting a family as she now has to.

The last six years have also been somewhat happier than the preceding because they now have their own house. Although it is rented, it is the first time that they have not been in an apartment. Also, now that all of her sons are "out on their own" the financial strain is considerably less. She likes her job and has not been plagued by health problems recently. Mrs. Q does not feel defeated over what has happened to her. She seems to see work as at least a partial answer to her own problems and what happens to her and her family. There is no question in Mrs. Q's mind but that things go better when she is working. "I feel good about myself when I work. I'm not like those lazy people who get welfare without having to work at all."

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTION AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

Mr. Q was a laborer in a sawmill at the beginning of World War II. He liked the work because it was clean, except for the sawdust which bothered him. He regarded the people with whom he worked as friends, and saw them outside of work in bars and when playing soccer. He worked to help support his brothers and sisters, since at this time he was still living at home. Mr. Q left this job because he was drafted into the German army. His employment history is:

1940's	laborer in sawmill in Poland	full-time
1940's	factory work in Germany during W.W. II	full-time
late '40's & early '50's	farm laborer in Germany	full-time
1957-59	farm laborer in Tompkins Co.	full-time
1959-1970	permanently unemployed due to back injury	

In comparing his life before 1959, when he was injured, with how things are for him now, Mr. Q said, "I was happy and satisfied. Now I'm disabled. I'm willing to work but I can't and am very unhappy." This is a permanent condition with which he has had to live since his accident in 1959, when he injured his back - a ruptured disc. He is not totally disabled and is able to move around and do a limited amount of housework and shopping. Having to assume this female role has made him feel depressed and useless. This is especially true because his "old-world" standards and expectations about male and female roles have not been Americanized,since most of the time since he came to this country in 1957 has been spent isolated in his home. This has placed the burden of supporting him and their 4 children on his wife. But he does not feel that all the burdens have changed his personal relationship to his wife. He has been able to spend more time with his children but feels that they have suffered due to lack of money.

When asked what he would be doing if he could have any kind of job he wanted, he replied, "Anything,"and that he would work even if he were guaranteed an adequate income "just for pleasure." He thinks of his first job as the best job he ever had. But Mr. Q feels that things have never gone well in his life. When he has a bad day, he tries to control himself as best he can so "I won't explode."

Mr. Q completed the fourth grade. He had to leave school because his father's death made it necessary for him to help support his family. He would like to have been able to stay in school. If he had to do it over again, Mr. Q would like to change his life so that he would have "a good profession and a peaceful middle-class life."

Mr. Q is a defeated man who can find no useful purpose for his life. He feels he is only a burden to others and is depressed that he has to be so dependent on his family and welfare. "What good am I - an old useless man being carried by other people." Mr. Q sees no hope for the future - only a continuation of his present obsolete state. It would be helpful to Mr. Q and his family to have an evaluation made of his capacity to work and what his realistic limitations are. This might be done by an agency like the State Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. Mr. Q might be able to work in a sheltered workshop.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 1

Mrs. Q clearly feels that Mr. Q has failed in his major role as "provider." Even though she understands his physical limitations, she feels that her husband should make an effort to find some kind of work which he could do. There is tension and underlying hostility between Mr. and Mrs. Q which is not verbalized but can be felt. However, both Mr. and Mrs. Q work hard at making a good impression about their relationship as one which is harmonious and cooperative. Mr. Q states emphatically that he and his wife do not disagree on anything. Mrs. Q feels that there is no real "decision-maker" in her family. She and her husband always talk things over, and the final decision is made together. She said that she and her husband never really argue --if they have a disagreement they both just sort of give in. She was unwilling to be any more specific than this. However, at other times, she indicated that she has "a lot more say" on now money gets spent, what they do on an evening out, buying major appliances, disciplining children, and whether or not she worked. She feels that her working has given her "much more say" in family matters. As she puts it: "I'm really the boss of this house whether I want to be or not , since I earn the money." This underlying conflict has no easy resolution. If Mr. Q could find even a limited part-time job it would enable him to feel less of a burden and that he was contributing to his family, and Mrs. Q would feel that he was fulfilling his role as provider.

Mrs. Q is grateful that her husband helps her out in several ways. He does the shopping and searches around for the best bargain. "It's a good idea ... he helps me a lot ... he gets the best bargain." She is also glad that he has been able to spend so much time with the children. "Some fathers don't even know their kids. He knows his real well." However, Mrs. Q seems to show only a minimal amount of real involvement with her husband. When talking to her and in observing her behavior, Mrs. Q hardly seems to be aware that Mr. Q exists unless a direct question is asked about him. She makes almost no reference to him when discussing the details of daily living or her plans for the future. Rather than to her husband, she turns to her two oldest sons for the kind of emotional support and understanding which she might have gotten from him at one time. She depends on them to help her make some decisions and for practical kinds of assistance. Even the one role Mr. Q had found satisfying during these years --- that of being a father -- has been diminished in importance as the children have left home.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 6

Mrs. Q emphasizes that she likes all of her children: she feels that she had exactly the right number. "I'm satisfied and I'm happy with them." To Mrs. Q , it's just not a family without children. As to her relations with her children. Mrs. Q says simply that: "I love each one, and each one loves me."

As a parent Mrs. Q seems to have done a good job. She gets lots of satisfaction form her role as a mother and is proud of her children. She considers her children as her best friends. If things are going badly, they are the ones she wants to talk to.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 5

Mr. and Mrs. Q agree on how the children should be raised and feel that they have no differences. They are traditional in their child-rearing practices. To Mrs. Q , a good mother is one who "keeps straight children. I teach them to work, to save money, not spend for foolish things. If Ma spanks you, Ma loves you. If Ma doesn't like you, she tells you to go away where you want." Mrs. Q wants her children "to be somebody. Be more than their mother and father." She seems satisfied with the progress they have made in this direction.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

The Q's feel their children have bettered themselves. C , age 23, got married last year and is living in his father-in-law's home. Mrs. Q feels that her son has a good wife. "She is a nice friendly girl." She does feel badly that C does not come to visit very often, but she understands this -- she knows that he and his wife just want time to be with each other.

B is going to get married in the near future and is now living in Newfield in a trailer. He is 21 years old.

Their youngest son A , age 19, is also on his own now, and he does printing at a local printing place

A private interview with the daughter D , age 13, suggests that there is a great deal of "second-generation rebelling" going on. D is still finding it hard to adjust to the high school after 6 years in a private catholic school where restrictions were equally as rigid as those at home. The parents expect their teenage daughter to spend afternoons working at home. Mrs. Q reports that her daughter has "nothing to say" in deciding what shows, movies, or parties, she can go to. Although the daughter is doing well academically, new strains have developed with the onset of their daughter's adolescence. Mrs. Q finds it difficult to supervise D's life as closely as she would like, and D resents her "interference." If Mrs. Q is at home when D gets out of school, D usually doesn't go out. Mrs. Q makes her help her with the cooking and cleaning. It's time for her to learn something about running a house. Otherwise, she goes somewhere with her friends. At night, she reads or watches T.V. As Mrs. Q says, "I don't trust her to go around at night - she's too young." Right now, D would like to be an English teacher. Mrs. Q hopes that her daughter will be able to go to college.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 3

Although the Q family is not fragmented, most of its members seem to be isolated from one another. There seems to be little common life or "togetherness" as a family. Meals and watching T.V. provide the main joint activities. Each member of the family seems to go his own way. This is especially true now that the three sons of the family have their own lives and D is beginning to want to be more independent. The main tie which Mrs. Q has to her family is the satisfaction she receives from her role as a mother, her emotional dependence on her sons and her rather traditional relationship with her daughter in teaching her household tasks and watching over her activities. At this point, when the children are older and not needing daily care, Mr. Q seems to have no well-defined role and position in the family, but rather to just sort of be around. Mr. Q expresses this change in family life in these words: "The kids don't depend on me like they used to when they were little. They can do everything for themselves and don't need me around."

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 2

Each time that Mrs. Q left a job it has mainly been because of poor health. She has had an ulcer and pneumonia from which she has recovered but she is still bothered at times by her "bad back." Mr. Q was in the armed forces in Germany during World War II and was discharged for service-related problems at the end of the war. He did not define these but did state that they were not effecting him now. He had no serious health problems when he was a child. He has had 3 operations which have not been successful in correcting his ruptured disc. None of the children have health problems.

HEALTH PRACTICES rating 5

The family members regularly see doctors and, in addition, take care of injuries and illnesses as they happen, following the instructions of their doctors faithfully.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

The Q 's home, which is rented, is small but extremely neat and in good repair. Most of the other houses in the neighborhood are somewhat the same. The family feels their home is large enough for the four members who still live there. The furnishings are in good condition and the atmosphere of the home reflects the care and organization with which the household is maintained.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. Q takes her role as homemaker very seriously. Her working has never interfered with her determination to have an orderly, well-run home. She has always been assisted in her tasks around the house by her husband and children.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 2

Mrs. Q never sees her family. The last time she saw her brothers and sisters was in 1942 when she left Poland. Both of her parents are now dead. "It really seems like I don't have any family of my own. It's been so long and so far away." She would like to be able to see her relatives, but she recognizes this as impossible. All of Mrs. Q 's brothers and sisters are now married and living on farms in Poland. None of her sisters hold jobs, but work on their husbands' farms. Although they do write back and forth, Mrs. Q is not really too certain just how things are going for them. She feels the Communist censorship forces them to be careful. Her sisters did not let her know of her mother's death until almost three months after she died. All of Mr. Q 's immediate family are dead.

Mrs. Q does not have much time to see people outside of those she works with. If she is out shopping, she occasionally sees one of her friends and stops and talks with her. Also, she does call her friends on the phone once in a while. Mrs. Q characterizes herself not so much as an advice-giver but more as a listener. If a friend comes to her with a problem, she listens. She told the story of her young next-door neighbor who just found out that her husband has cancer. She went over to get her to talk. She has also taken care of the neighbor's little girl to try to help out. She is quite close to her next-door neighbor but she mentioned that it took a long time for them to get to know each other. Mr. Q seldom sees others outside of his family except for his children's friends and some of the neighbors who live close by. There is also one family from Poland whom Mr. Q. sees once a week or every other week. Mr. Q summed up their social life by saying: "We just don't see any people or go many places. I'm too busy and we don't have much money."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 4

The three sons who are working provide a limited amount of financial help for the Q family as a supplement to their public assistance grant and Mrs. Q's income.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

The Q family is not involved with any community agency or organization except the high school and Department of Social Services.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 2

Both Mr. and Mrs. Q voted in the last national election. They do not belong to any clubs or organizations. Because of his disability, Mr. Q feels that he can do nothing to make his community a better place to live.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 3

The farmer for whom Mr. Q worked when his back was injured helped the family apply for public assistance in 1959 shortly after the accident. Their case has been open continuously since then. The amount of their grant varies depending on whether Mrs. Q is working and how much she is earning. Their relationship to the Department of Social Services has been an unfortunate one. In 1960, according to Mrs. Q, the Department pushed her to work. She said the caseworker came to her house and said, "If you don't go to work, I'll send you back to Germany." Mrs. Q then told him to get out. She feels that they are taken advantage of because they come from a different country. "If something happens, they don't understand us." Since then Mr. and Mrs. Q avoid all contacts with the Department except those that are absolutely essential.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mrs. Q has very strong opinions about welfare: "I've been on welfare, and welfare not help me too much." No one came and asked her, "Do you have a good breakfast for your child?" On many days the children just drank a cup of coffee, she didn't even have enough money for their lunch. Mrs. Q stresses that she is not going to argue, that she is not going to ask for anyone's help. "Only God help me when I want to work. I want to help my children by myself."

Mrs. Q feels that the Welfare program is "no good anyway -- they give to those who are no good. I'm on Nixon's side because he wants to cancel the welfare ... They help them that want to go and spend money at the bar, and poor children don't even have a piece of bread."

Mr. Q is more resigned to being dependent on public assistance, feeling that there is nothing he can do about it. Mr. Q feels that the welfare system "is the only way to keep the poorest alive." His suggestions for improving the welfare system were "to supervise the control which welfare clerks have over poor people and to give more money to the poorest families." In summary, his feelings are "that it is a sad situation to be on welfare, but for those who don't have any other chance to survive, it is the only way to get support for a poor living."

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. Q is in charge of the family finances. Since there is always a shortage of money, there is little choice of what to do with it, so there is little disagreement between Mr. and Mrs. Q on financial matters. She is a good manager and makes their limited income go as far as possible.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 6

In the early 1940's, before Mrs. Q was married, she worked on farms for other families in Poland while living at home. Because she felt that she was a financial burden upon her family, she only attended school for four years and then worked full-time. During the Second World War, she was forced to go to Germany, where she worked in a factory on an assembly line making parts for machinery. "I just hated that work." She met her husband in the factory. After marriage, when the war ended, she switched back to farm work. Mrs. Q rather liked this work in the fields. She and her family came to the United States in 1957 and Mrs. Q remained at home until 1960, not wanting to work because of her difficulty in using English.

Because of pressure from the Welfare Department she went to work in 1960 in the Tompkins County Hospital kitchen for about two and one half years. Mrs. Q was home for about a year. She began working again in 1963 at a laundry and continued working for 19 months, until she caught pneumonia and also developed an ulcer, at which time her doctor told her that she must quit her job.

After six months at home, Mrs. Q found a job at Cornell in 1966 upon the suggestion of her doctor. She helps to prepare salads, keeps the food counters filled, waits on customers in one of the dorms. There is no one thing about her job that she enjoys most of all; she just likes to work with food in general. "Helping make good food makes me feel good." She never feels like quitting -- to her, this would be out of the question. She likes the people she works with, and she made special mention of the fact that she is very pleased when the students recognize and greet her on the streets. "That's special to have the kids know who I am." Because she has many household responsibilities at home, she rarely sees her co-workers outside of work, although she does occasionally speak to them on the phone. Her lack of education is not a problem for her at work. "The people I work with say that even though I've only had four years of education, I'm still good because I've had experience." The worst thing about the job is her transportation difficulties. She usually works 7:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. and has to wait in the cold for a bus in winter. On Sundays, she works until 8:00 p.m. Frequently, when she has been unable to get a taxi she has had to walk home alone in the dark.

Mrs. Q's mother never worked. There were nine children in the family, and they lived on a farm, so what work she did was concerned with the upkeep of the farm and the house. Her father was a farmer in Poland throughout his life-time. Mrs. Q feels that her family in Poland was about equally as well off as her family in the U.S. although she is not really sure of this because her parents never discussed their financial problems with her. Mr. Q's mother did not work when he was growing up. His father worked in the same paper mill in which he had his first job in Poland.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 4

Poor health has not stopped Mrs. Q from working. She feels that it is better to work to prevent one from thinking about things too much. "I work hard -- then I'm too busy and tired to think. That's better than drinking." Day care has not been a problem for Mrs. Q even when the children were all small because Mr. Q was always home. As mentioned, transportation has been a problem for Mrs. Q.

EMPLOYEMNT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

This woman seems to have a natural capacity for hard work and feels that it is only right that one should work hard for what one gets in life. Mrs. Q thinks most men probably do not care for the idea of their wives working because the man is supposed to be the "provider." When asked how a husband is likely to feel if his wife works and he doesn't, she answered, "Very likely he feels that the children suffer and that he should be helping to support the family."

She feels that it is very important for a woman to get out of the house, and working is one way to do it. If she had all the money she needed, she would still work at least part-time. Mrs. Q is not sure how most women feel about working. The thing she stresses most of all is that "One should not be lazy: one should do just as much as one can possibly do." She strongly agrees that a paid job gives more prestige to a woman than being a housewife. Mrs. Q cannot really think about what would be an "ideal" job. She is quite satisfied with what she is now doing -- working with food. She does not feel that the type or level of her jobs has either gotten better or worse, and she has liked all her jobs except for the time when she was working in the factory for a few months during World War II.

When questioned about whether women who work really want to, Mr. Q replied, "Some want to work and some don't want to work." Ideally he feels that women should stay home and care for the children until they are old enough to leave home after they finish school. It was his reluctant decision that it was necessary for Mrs. Q to go to work. He admiits, however, that she is quite happy working although she does get tired. In summary, Mr. Q feels ambivalent about his wife working -- knowing that it is necessary for the "survival of the family" as he expresses it and that she enjoys what she is doing but also feeling useless and depressed because he can't support the family.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 4

It seems unlikely that Mrs. Q will drop out of the labor force for reasons other than health until she is ready to retire. Although she would change jobs, for a better salary, she has few personal plans or aspirations for changes in her work status. Given her attitiudes and limitations of health, education, language and experience, she is not likely to improve her status.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 4

Other than the fact that she was more tired, Mrs. Q did not think that working interfered much with the running of her household. She sees no real difference between when she is working and when she is not working. This is in part due to the fact that she has no real outside interests, so her working is not in conflict with them and her children and her husband have helped her out quite a bit with her housework and cooking.

Her sons never said anything about being unhappy that she worked and was away from home, although it did bother her daughter when she was small. She felt that the advantages to be gained from working, other than financial, made up for the disadvantages of being tired and sometimes being pressed for time.

Mr. Q seems unable to move out of the position in the family which has been his for 11 years. On her part, Mrs. Q enjoys being "head of the household" and having the dominant position in decision-making and planning for the family. She feels she is entitled to do this since she is the family "bread-winner." "Sometimes I wish I could quit working, but if I did that the family would fall apart. I have to be strong for my family."

IMPLICATIONS

It really seems that there is not too much that could be done to improve things for Mrs. Q. This is partly because of her age and her health. If she could be educated enough to get some kind of office job, then she would be making more money and would also not have to worry so much about her health interfering with her work. Mrs. Q has a "working" knowledge of English -- she gets the "general idea." An adult education course would help her to improve this; after this a secretarial course would be necessary. However, one wonders just how effective a solution this would be; there seems to be just too big a gap -- she probably would never really "fit into" an office situation, because this is so foreign to every other kind of work she has ever done. By Mrs. Q's standards, she would be happy if she could just work. Therefore, what would make her happiest of all would be to have good health, so that she would not have to worry about whether it was going to interfere with her work.

With the right kind of counseling and work evaluation, Mr. Q might be able to be placed in a job which did not interfere with his back injury. This would be beneficial for the whole family.

CASE STUDY OF MRS F AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY -1

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 36
Education: 7th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages:
6 children, 3 girls and 3 boys
age range, 12 to 20 years

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
Number of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: receiving public assistance
Number of years on welfare: 10
Number of times case closed: 6

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: No (day care mother)
Work typology: steady
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: laundry and day care

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 75
No. of full-time jobs held: 1
No. of part-time jobs held: 1
Total no. of jobs held: 2
Longest period of employment: 66 months
Average job duration: 37 months
No. of months unemployed: 57
Longest period of unemployment: 55months
No. of periods of unemployment: 2

Chronology showing important changes in the family +2

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1949					case opened and closed 4 times before 1960	
1950	child			domestic		
1952	child			laundry		
1955	child	marriage				
1956	child					
1957	child					
1958	child					
1959						children in hospital, spinal meningitis
1960		separated		domestic for family, 5 yrs.		
1961					case opened and closed	
1962					case opened to present	
1964						son's nervous breakd'n
1965				domestic, several families		
1966				daycare mother to present		
1970		divorced				

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 3

Mrs. F has been classified as a steady worker. In the last 11 years she has held two jobs outside of the home, 1 of these lasting 66 months, and has been working for the past 55 months as a day care mother in her home. Although being a day care mother does not count as employment for purposes of this study, since it is carried on in the home, still for Mrs. F this is a steady source of income and of self esteem.

Mrs. F is a short, plump, rosy-faced 37 year old woman. At both interviews she wore curlers in her hair and a dirty, torn housecoat held together with safety pins plus tattered old slippers. She is part Blackfoot Indian and part English. She is in good health with the exception of a gall stone problem.

Mrs. F lived off and on with her husband from 1950 to 1960 but has been separated since then and has recently been divorced. She has 6 children ranging in age from 20 to 12. The oldest girl is married, the second child a boy is working and the other four are in school and still living at home. Her expectations are that the four in school will remain to graduation and if they do, they will continue the upward mobility of the family from the previous generation who had no education, to herself who went through the 7th grade, and her two older children who graduated or nearly graduated from high school.

Mrs. F worked all her life and felt that it was essential during her married life since her husband did not work. He was very abusive to the children and apparently was the cause of some emotional problems with the children.

Mrs. F now enjoys her work as a day care mother. She cares for 8 children and gives them rather poor attention and is not able to maintain the house in any sort of order, but is proud of her "profession".

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 6

Mrs. F is quite gregarious and very anxious to make a good impression. She is cheerful, optimistic and friendly.

Mrs. F has a lot of self esteem, mainly derived from her ability to manage on her own for all these years and especially from what shefeels is her success as a mother and a day care mother. Mrs. F feels that she is about as competent as most people she knows.

Her friends would describe her as "jolly, easy to talk to, fun to be with, and likes to do things." Her children would describe her as "mean because I'm strict, fun to be with, easy to please, but with a bad temper." Mrs. F's description of a feminine woman is "neat, she can be on the heavy side and still be feminine; wears perfume; she doesn't have to look sexy - that's sometimes too bold." She feels she fits this description.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 2

Mrs. F is very maternal in her outlook on life. She sees everything in terms of the effect it will have on her children. The past is looked on in terms of the damage that the father did to the children when he beat them, and the future is predicted in terms of what the children will be doing. She says that she lives for the children and "considers them the joy of life, the hope of the future." However, she does not often look to the future; rather, she lives on a day to day basis, thinking only as far ahead as her next trip downtown to do some shopping with the children.

The worst time in her life was in 1959 when her children were in the hospital with spinal meningitis and she didnt expect them to live. "That was the only time my husband was good to us - for once in his life he worried about the children." She feels that she is much better off now than when she was married because her husband was more trouble than he was help, and she lived in constant fear of his beatings. She also has an easier time with the children because they are more self-sufficient and they do not always need her attention. Finally, she feels that her job is superior to her previous jobs in every respect. She stated that she is an optimist and feels that her life will get better and better. She said that this will happen with hard work and some good luck.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Mrs. F lived with Mr. F off and on for 10 years in the 1950's. Mrs. F said her husband never wanted to work. "He didn't want to work, just beat the kids and me." He drank excessively, but "When he was drunk, he never laid a hand on us." When he beat his 9-month-old son and almost killed him, she claimed "That was it." She and her husband separated 10 years ago. "It was the best thing that ever happened to me." She recently obtained a divorce. The case worker reports "Mr. F was very abusive before and during his marriage to both Mrs. F and the children.

Mrs. F has always worked for financial reasons, first to help her mother when her father died and later to support her children because her husband was not a responsible wage earner. When he did work, her husband would spend the money on drinking. She does not know what he is doing now.but she expects that he is probably doing sporadic janitorial work. She still has very negative feelings toward him. The older children "hate their father for what he did to the family" and the younger children don't remember all of the beatings that the others recall. She said that the only good thing that the father left the children was his looks. She said, "He was very good looking, dark, handsome and big and P is the spitting image of him." She said that they are doing fine without him.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 2

About the possibility of remarriage, Mrs. F stated, "I'm too used to doing things on my own - but perhaps someday I'll remarry." She does not know if she could ever start taking orders again.

Mrs. F has been dating a man for two years who is a stockroom manager. "If he would remarry, it would be someone like me because I like to do things." Mrs. F sees her male friend, on weekends and occasionally during the week nights. "He likes the kids and me and he is nice." The children enjoy fooling around with him. She said that he likes being with the family on weekends. He differs from her husband because he has a steady job and he is also a much nicer person.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 2

Mrs. F feels that the six children are not responsible for any of her problems. She thinks that six children makes a perfect family and would do it again. "Children are the reason for living." Mrs. F feels that she is doing better with her children than her mother did with her own children. She feels that she is able to feed and clothe her children adequately and keep them in a "nice home with a nice yard in a nice neighborhood." When she was a child she did not feel the family spirit within her family, that she thinks her family now has. Mrs. F feels that she is much closer to and has the respect of her children much more than her mother had.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 1

Mrs. F thinks that she raises her children much better than most people she knows. She does not have many discipline problems with the children because she was always quite strict with them when they were younger and they are used to listening to her. Mr. F had no authority over the children. They were very afraid of him but had no respect for their father and would avoid him. Mrs. F says the children have turned to her for protection and guidance and that she has had no problems with them except for emotional problems caused by the behavior of their father.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Mrs. F has 6 children, ranging in age from 12 years to 20 years.

Her oldest child, a daughter, is married and has one child. She is not working. Mrs. F is very pleased with her son-in-law because he has a car and a good job and happy about the marriage.

Although her oldest son dropped out of high school, she is not unhappy because she feels that he wasn't able to do the work and is much happier working. His boss likes him very much and he often brings home little gifts for Mrs. F. He would like to join the Army for a career and be a medic or an engineer.

Mrs. F expects the other four children to "graduate from high school and then go on to something better and get good-paying jobs." She doesn't think much about exactly what they will do when they graduate, she wants her children to decide for themselves. Her daughter who is in high school is a candy-striper at the hospital and has a Red Cross shield. She wants to be a nurse or a teacher. The youngest daughter doesn't know what she wants to be. This daughter was attending counseling sessions at a local agency because of emotional problems. It seems to have helped her.

One son who is junior high school age now has had emotional problems because of partial deafness, but also how he was treated by his father and what he saw happening to other family members. When he was 7 years old he had a nervous breakdown. "His father wrecked him. He saw his brother and me beaten so much that he couldn't stand to see any violence at home, on TV, or even in coloring books. If I spanked the other children, he would go wild. For 2 years I couldn't spank him and I couldn't let him see me cry."

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 2

Mrs. F feels that she has a very satisfactory relationship with her children. Mrs. F's pride in her children, the emotional support she gives them, and the close interaction which encourages disclosures of personal confidences all contribute to the stability of the family.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 2

She describes her health as good with the exception of a gall stone problem. She is also concerned occasionally about the fact that her father had heart trouble and diabetes which she might have inherited. One daughter had a foot operation. In 1959 all the children were in the hospital with spinal meningitis. Her younger son has a hearing problem which was discovered after he was in school. This has been corrected now.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 2

The F's rent a 7 room dilapidated shingle house in the downtown area, on a block with relatively run down but nice frame houses. The outside of Mrs. F's house was littered with old soda cans and bottles and the inside was extremely messy. The interview was held in the entrance hall at a table littered with the remains of breakfast and a bit of last night's dinner. Aside from the two chairs and a stuffed armchair in the corner and a noisy hissing radiator, the room was bare. The wallpaper was ripped off the walls which had huge holes and seemed unstable. The kitchen sink, which was visible from the hall, was stacked with dishes and food. The living room, which was nicely furnished, had a large television which was always on. The third visible room was what she referred to as the "playroom," an empty, bare room with a few broken toys on the floor. Scattered about the third room were 8 day care children under age 3 and a small poodle. Mrs. F would like to buy the house some day, "...if I could swing it."

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 2

She maintains that her job does not really interfere with her housekeeping duties, although the condition of the house belies this. Mrs. F does admit she finds it is a big problem to keep a house clean with little children around.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 5

Mrs. F's parents both finished 5th grade. She feels they were close to each other. Mrs. F's father was a Indian and her mother is of English descent. Her mother had ten children in three groupings, Mrs. F being the oldest in the youngest group which included 2 younger brothers. Mrs. F's mother worked in Pennsylvania, in a factory during Mrs. F's early childhood, while the older children cared for the young children. Her father had a job hauling coal and was unemployed some of the time. When Mrs. F was 7 years old the family moved to New York State, where her parents managed a home for middle-aged people. Mrs. F's father died when she was about 13 years old, and her mother, who presently lives in a trailer in the same nearby village, has subsequently remarried three times.

Mrs. F thinks her mother understands her the best of all the people who know her. She sees her mother every week and often talks to her on the phone. She claims that she doesn't discuss her problems frequently, but when she does, it is with her mother or her neighbor. She also talks to her married daughter. However, she emphasized that she is not the interfering mother-in-law. She occasionally babysits for her daughter's baby. Mrs. F is also close with her husband's parents and his sister. Her closest friend lives next door. She stated that this friend recently said, "I don't know what I'd do if you ever moved away." Her social life does not extend beyond her family and her close neighbor.

The major part of Mrs. F's social interaction involves her children and their friends. She is proud of the fact that her children's friends are fond of her. "When I walk downtown I hear kids across the street calling "ma" to me." She enjoys cooking farewell dinners for their friends who go into the service. "One fella wanted a turkey dinner in the middle of August but I made it - turkey, mashed potatoes, and hot biscuits."

For daily relaxation Mrs. F watches TV or goes shopping downtown with the children.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT   rating 2

In a financial emergency, her brother could lend Mrs. F some money.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 5

Mrs. F has used quite a few community resources for her family. She has been to the hospital for a foot operation for one daughter. Two of her children have had counseling at different agencies. Mrs. F has been to Family Court for her divorce proceedings. It has been necessary for her to work with the school social worker, guidance counselors, and psychologists because two of her children have had rather severe emotional problems. She has also used a local speech and hearing clinic for diagnosis and treatment of one of her sons. And of course, Mrs. F keeps in touch with the Department of Social Services because she is still receiving public assistance. She also works closely with the unit within the Department which supervises the licensed day care mothers.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 1

Mrs. F does not have a need to join organizations or become involved with the community because she feels that her family keeps her busy enough. She has done volunteer work in the past but is not currently engaged in any.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

Mrs. F comes from a "welfare" family. When she was 16 and still living at home she received her first public assistance grant in January 1949 because she was not in school and not working. She received support for 6 months before her case was closed. In November 1950 her case was reopened because she had an O.W. child. This time she received assistance for 8 months. In August 1952 Mrs. F again received welfare for 8 months because of another o.w. child. Between 1953 and 1961 the case was opened and closed 2 other times because Mr. or Mrs. F was not working. In addition, during this period the F's lived in another county and received public assistance two different times there. Finally in 1962 the F's were permanently separated and Mrs. F's case was reopened. She has been receiving partial support since that time. The case record states that in 1955 the pressure on the Department for Mrs. F to find a job was so determined that she requested that her case be closed.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT   rating 1

She was not willing to talk about welfare but she did say that she had friends on welfare and later admitted that she "occasionally receives welfare assistance." She complained that many people "drink up" the money that they receive and the welfare people do nothing about this situation. She also complained that welfare does nothing about men who don't support their family. Mrs. F strongly agrees with the statement "If a mother drawing welfare payments cannot earn much more money by working she should stay on welfare." But she also thinks that most women who receive welfare payments prefer to work.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES   rating 1

Mrs. F feels that she manages her financial matters satisfactorily. The children always have enough to eat and rent is always paid. If there were an emergency which required alot of money Mrs. F does not know what she would do.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS   rating 7

Mrs. F has worked since she was 16. She quit school shortly after her father died to go to work. "I wasn't smart anyway, so it didn't matter."

In 1950 her first job was at a funeral home doing housework, and turning on funeral lights. She left after 1 year when she became pregnant with her first child. From 1951-1952 she worked for a laundry using the big ironing machine to fold sheets. Her mother watched her daughter. She worked for less than a year when she became pregnant again. Then in 1953 she went back to work at the laundry. Her niece took care of the children. She enjoyed the companionship among the laundry workers, but felt that the work was unbearably hot in the summer and it was difficult to be on her feet all day. She then stopped working to have 2 daughters. Throughout this period her husband worked sporadically as a janitor. But he eventually quit his job. "I'd be walking to work in the snow and he'd be home sleeping." Although he professed to be opposed to her working, she claims she had to because he failed as a provider.

In 1960 she did housework in a village. She worked three days a week. The older children babysat for the younger ones. She held this position with one family until 1965 when she moved to Ithaca. In 1965 she started doing housework for various families nearby. Although she did not enjoy the work, she felt it was necessary for her family's survival.

She started her present job of caring for children in her home in 1966. She likes the children and the work. "My dream job is just exactly what I'm doing." She is proud that the children call her Grandma. "I'm strict and they mind me or else." Mrs. F's working day commences at 6:30 AM when the first day care child arrives and terminates at 5:30 when the last child departs. While caring for the 8 children, she cleans the house and watches TV, particularly the Movie Matinee.

The interviewer was able to observe Mrs. F's interaction with the 8 day care children who were all under 3 years old, and saw that she was tender only with the 8 month old baby and constantly yelled at the others, telling them to stay in the "playroom" and not to bother her. She complained about three children in particular, stating that she had trouble getting them to mind her because their parents were not strict enough. It seemed that most of the children were afraid of her. They were dressed in shabby, worn clothes, many of them wearing clothes that were either too big or too small for them. She mentioned that she was very proud that she did not show discrimination and that she sometimes has had children from India and China.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 4

A lack of skills and training is no obstacle for Mrs. F because, like her mother, she has no job aspirations or desire to return to school or improve her skills. When Mrs. F moved to Ithaca from the small town nearby, transportation was a problem so that she had to quite her house-cleaning jobs. It was at this time that she became a day care mother.

Mrs. F. never needed to send her children out to be cared for while she worked because she always had her mother or her niece and later the older children to babysit for her. However, she obviously approves of day care for children in general because she provides this service for other mothers. But Mrs. F thinks it is more desirable for a mother with pre-school children to stay at home than to go out to work if she can.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

The basic factor associated with her particular job pattern is Mrs. F's desire to provide well for her children, first in the absence of an adequate male provider and later in the absence of any male provider. Mrs. F thinks that the best way to obtain an income is by being employed. She thinks that by working a woman can help her family by providing more money to buy food and pay bills. Mrs. F prefers to stay with a job that she knows she can handle than to change to one where most things would be new to her. She gains much self esteem from her role as a mother which she feels she performs very well and her role as a day care mother. This latter job seems to have made a big difference in her attitude toward toward work. Whereas previously she did not derive any great satisfaction from working, she now loves her work and has nothing she would rather be doing. In fact, she claimed that she has absolutely no complaints about her job. Mrs. F's suggestion to the government on ways to help working women is to give them more money.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS **rating 2**

Mrs. F's mother never had any aspirations for her daughter. She just wanted her to have enough to eat and allowed her to quit school toward this end. She always held low level jobs in a laundry or as a domestic worker and she never aspired to anything better. She said that she knew what she was able to do and what she had to do and she did it. She stated that she is "not very much in the brains department but I have other things going for me." Because she is so satisfied with her present job and feels she can't really be successful in a higher status job, it is unlikely that Mrs. F will try to become anything but a day care mother or a cleaning woman. However, she will probably continue to work because she feels that it is necessary to support her family. And she enjoys it now.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING **rating 3**

The case worker for Mrs. F states "In the last few years Mrs. F's children have appeared to be functioning better, so perhaps home employment has helped to occupy her to the point that her emotional and family problems were no longer harming the children. Having the father permanently gone from the home also greatly increases the stability of the family and assists the children to be more secure and well-adjusted.

She feels that her current job could not be more ideal. She does not forsee a time in the near future when she will not work because she has young children, but she is happy in her work and she feels that makes a big difference in her outlook. She feels that her friends and neighbors admire her and wonder how she manages with so many day care children plus her own 5 children who are home plus her new grandchild for whom she often sits. She believes that her job is on a much higher level than her previous jobs. In fact, she thinks of her job as a profession and she derives great satisfaction from this. This job has increased Mrs. F's self-esteem and the confidence she has in herself. It has changed her attitude towards work and the feelings her older children have towards her.

Whether Mrs. F works at home or outside, her house still seems to be in a mess and in poor condition.

IMPLICATIONS

The most interesting part of this case is that the family is upwardly mobile. The children are staying in school much longer than she did and Mrs. F has high aspirations for them. Even if they all do not finish, two are already launched, one in marriage and the other in a steady job. The younger girls could use some counseling to help them in realistic planning for their futures.

Although Mrs. F is not a very good housekeeper, she is able to maintain a good psychological climate for her own children. It is not as clear what the effect of her care will have on the children who are with her for their whole waking days. Since Mrs. F considers taking care of the children to be a "profession", it would seem that she might be accepting some training. She and the children surely would profit from trips to the center where the day care committee is showing games and toys for children and giving instruction in educational activities.

The negative effect of an immature husband and father is shown in this family. Since the records indicate that the first children were OW, it may be assumed that the family was founded on precarious foundations from the start. Probably both Mr. and Mrs. F were not ready to raise a family, but it appears as though Mrs. F has been strong enough to cope with the problems and now is providing a supportive environment.

Since Mrs. F is still relatively young, as her children leave the home she may not need to remain there to care for them. In this case, outside employment would be a possibility. Since the type of employment she has had in the past has been very low level, and she considers what she is now doing much better, it may be that she will continue in the day care business rather than leaving the house. There appears to be a real need to improve the quality of this, as noted above. Perhaps as the children leave, the income from child care could be enough for her own needs and the necessity for assistance might no longer exist.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. G AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY - 5

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 46
Education: 8th grade
Race or ethnic background: black
Children and ages: 4 children, ages 13 to 21 years

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on
No. of times case closed: none
No. of years on welfare: 3

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: steady
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: domestic

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 95
No. of full-time jobs held: 2
No. of part-time jobs held: 1
Total no. of jobs held: 3
Longest period of employment: 54 mos.
Average job duration: 35 months
No. of months unemployed: 37
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 34 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 5

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1943		married				
1949	child			sporadic domestic work in the South		
1951	child					
1952	child					moved to Ithaca
1954						
1955				domestic work for 1 family for 12 years, and other sporadic domestic work until her accident.		
1957	child					
1960		separated				
1968					case open	Mrs.G burned on job. Sister died.
1969				can't work		in hospital for heart trouble and hypertension
1970						re-hospitalized for heart

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 4

Although, according to our definition, Mrs. G is a steady worker, she is no longer working since she was burned in the home where she was working as a cleaning woman and went on assistance. This was two years ago. Before that she had worked fairly steadily since her arrival in Ithaca from the south in 1954. Her work has always been as a domestic and at times her work week has been excessively long.

Mrs. G is a 47 year old neat, attractive, black woman who has a heart condition. Her manner is slow and deliberate, probably a consequence of the care she takes not to exert her heart.

Mrs. G is now divorced and has been separated from her husband for 11 years although he still lives in the same town and sends support payments. Mrs. G has four children: I, 21 and in the service; J, 19 and a school drop out "hanging around the house"; K, a daughter in her senior year at high school; and L, 13 and in a special class. The children are a source of considerable concern to Mrs. G.

The family lives in a small wood house in the center of town. The house is very neat and clean. Mrs. G is close to her mother but has few other friends.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 2

Mrs. G has very low self-esteem and almost a complete lack of self confidence. She feels that she is less competent than most people she knows. Mrs. G is quite self-conscious about her lack of education, her low job status and inability to communicate effectively. General anomie pervades her life, precipitated by the death of her sister, an accident when she was burned while working, and most recently her heart condition and hypertension. Mrs. G is reticent and depressed. She seems to be clothed in a general aura of despair: "Lord knows those children have been troubles to me." Her biggest problems besides her children are her health and her personal feelings.

Mrs. G felt that she could not describe herself, and she also said she found it difficult to know what her friends would say about her. She said the girls would think she is very strict because she likes to know where they are going and demands that they be in at a decent time. J her drop out son probably thinks she is a pain because she is always trying to get him to look for a job.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating I

Mrs. G claims that the past two years have been the worst ones for her. She feels that she has suffered more than her share. However, Mrs. G has little control over life's situations and feels everything is the will of God. Living from day to day with no long range planning, Mrs. G does not feel that she can do much to improve things. Her whole life revolves around her own family and her poor health. She does not foresee any great changes in her life, but occasionally she dreams that things will improve. Unfortunately, one thing that will not improve is her heart condition. Previously Mrs. G was unhappy because she had to work so hard to support the children. She now is truly depressed about her poor health. She would like to be able to go out and do some work but knows that this will probably be impossible for the rest of her life.

Mrs. G's hopeless and pessimistic view of life is reflected in what she thinks children should be taught about reality. She strongly agrees with the following statements: "children should learn early that if you don't look out for yourself people will take advantage of you." "There isn't much you can do about the way things are going to turn out in life." And that "Children should be taught not to expect too much out of life so they won't be disappointed." At the same time, she does not seem to be encouraging her children to accept their fate without making an effort to rise above it. She is proud of her son who is doing well in the service and is very concerned that her other children aren't working hard to improve their condition in life.

When asked when was the best time in her life, Mrs. G stated that it was before she was married, when she was living with her mother. She dates the time of her troubles and continuing crises in her her life as starting when she first was married.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Mr. and Mrs. G were married in 1943. Mrs. G says that her husband, from whom she has been separated for 11 years, was not good to her and the marriage was never a happy one. She was not willing to discuss her relationship with her husband beyond this.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 2

When she first separated Mrs. G said she didn't think about remarriage because she was so involved with the church and supporting her children. Now that she is away from the church, she is older and feels it would be difficult to find a good husband. However, "if a fine man came along, I would consider getting married again."

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 3

Mrs. G appears to have a rather fatilistic view of her role as a mother. She accepts her children and the number she has, as being what God wants for her. Mrs. G genuinely loves and cares for her children, but finds it very difficult to understand their behavior and how they can react to life so differently than she does and in ways which are so opposed to what she wants them to do and be.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 2

Mrs. G feels that the children have suffered from the lack of a father in the house. The boys particularly missed having him around to discipline them and Mrs. G feels that this is the reason that they did not finish high school. She clamins that the children do not confide in her at all and that she has no influence on what they do when they leave the house. She does try to be strict with them and insists on curfews for the girls, but is usually doesn't have any effect on her oldest daughter who does what she wants.

Mrs. G could adequately care for her children when they were young but they now have needs and problems which she can not cope with intellectually or physically. At this time in her life she is most involved with herself and her health problems, which uses up most of her psychic energy. Whatever energy is left is devoted to helpless worrying about the children. She feels that it is fortunate that she found out about her bad heart at a time when the children did not need her physical presence at home. Now she is glad that she worked so hard and sacrificed so much to keep them in a decent home, although she feels that public assistance could have made it a lot easier for her.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

Mrs. G is in despair about 3 of her children. They have disappointed her because they seem to attach considerable importance to their involvement with what she terms "bad crowds." There is a real generation gap here between some of her children who are militant young blacks and Mrs. G's more traditional expectation and view of her place in society. Mrs. G's dreams that her children attain more than she did are being realized by I, brushed by J, trampled upon by K and unfullfilled by L.

Despite Mrs. G's shattered hopes for most of her family, 2 of her children appear to be upwardly mobile from the standpoint of education. Her parents had essentially no education, she and her husband had a few years of education and her children have stayed in school up to the senior year of high school. Her mother and she did not even think about being anything other than cleaning women. Mrs. G hopes that her children will have better lives and better jobs than she had. I has already made rapid advancement in his job. If K doesn't get expelled from school, she has the most potential because of her intelligence and her particular flair for English. A factor that adds greatly to the possibilities open to Mrs. G's children is our changing society which has given blacks more of a chance to be upwardly mobile. Even though there are still many obstacles and a great deal of prejudice.

Mrs. G talks with pride about her oldest son I. I'm proud that I is doing something with himself. He dropped out of school at 18, but then he took the test for the service and now he is doing well. He made Corporal in two years."

J, her younger son is a school dropout and her biggest problem. "He just hangs around the house or goes out to hang around with a bad crowd. Every morning I ask him to go out and look for a job and he goes out, and when he comes back and ask him did he find work, he says 'Where?'" I recently convinced J to take the same qualifying exam, but J failed the exam. I tries to exert a positive influence on J but fails. J apparently feels quite discouraged because there seem to be so few opportunities for him and he is not motivated like his brother.

K is also in with "a bad crowd". "K's biggest problem is that she listens to the wrong people...I says to her 'You look like me, so why don't you act like me! K used to have big plans - to be an English teacher or a writer - and I said, ' Well, you could be some of both'." However, now K is in a lot of trouble at school. K was a bright child. "When she was 3, she knew more than her brothers in Sunday school." Mrs. G also feels that K is very good-natured and easily influenced by her older crowd. Mrs. G stated that "When a woman is 15-16 years she doesn't know much, but when you are 18 like K you know as much as you will ever know." She feels very helpless concerning K's behavior at school. "What can I do? I can't go in and sit with herall day."

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 2

One external condition which may have contributed to what little stability the G family possesses is the lack of geographical mobility for the G's. The family has grown up in the same community so there has been continuity in friendships and schools. However, within the family there seems to be a great deal of friction and disunity which Mrs. G is powerless to prevent. Mrs. G strongly desires close family ties. She stated that "The family should be close. Friends leave you when you are down."She also tries to encourage the children to be closer to each other because she feels that her relationship to and dependence on her sister helped her through difficult times in her life. She would like L and K to have that same kind of friendship but K always complains that L tags along after her. In addition, the oldest child is always picking on the next one and on to the youngest. I is not able to exert a positive influence on J and Mrs. G is not able to indluence any of them. All this would appear to indicate a hierarchy of hostility rather than family solidarity. Mrs. G feels trapped and hopeless about her family.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 2

Mrs. G was severely burned while working for a family in 1968. She did not want to describe how this happened. Mrs. G was in the hospital for several weeks. Since then she has recovered with no permanent damage to her body. Her sister's death reinforced Mrs. G's feeling that she also had a heart problem. She went to two doctors who said that her chest pains were gas, but then she found a doctor who put her in the hospital and diagnosed a heart condition. Since then she has been in and out of the hospital. The last time she was hospitalized was 1970. She states that she liked being in the hospital because they treated her well.

IV. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 5

The G family live in a fairly well kept older home in the downtown area on a block with similar frame homes. Both the living room and the dining room are neatly furnished. There is a portrait of Martin Luther King with the inscription "We Shall Overcome" plus various snapshots of the children hanging on the wall. The furnishings are old and well-used but in adequate condition.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 5

Since maintaining a home is Mrs. G's vocation, she has no problems in managing her household with ease and with a high standard of cleanliness and neatness. Because she is not working, she finds plenty of time to finish her housework as she has scheduled it for herself. Mrs. G is able to get her youngest child to help her but has found it too much of a hassle to involve her older children in household tasks. "I don't know what they are going to do when they have their own homes. They are so lazy."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 4

Mrs. G was born in Alabama where her father was a farm laborer. She has an older sister and 2 brothers. When Mrs. G was 11 years old her father died, and two years later she had to start work as a cleaning woman. When she was still a teenager, her family moved to Florida where she was married. She then moved to Geneva with her husband and then to Ithaca in 1954. Her mother and sister came there to live about the same time. Her sister had no family life of her own so she was available whenever Mrs. G needed her. Mrs. G's mother was also always there when Mrs. G needed her help with the children when she went to work. She was always very close to her mother and her older sister, with whom she claims she never fought. In 1968 her sister died of a heart attack in Mrs. G's bathroom.

She has no outside interests but feels she should begin developing some now. Since the death of her sister, the major supportive figure in her life is her mother. On Sundays the family goes over to her mother's house for a big dinner if Mrs. G feels well. Otherwise, she stays home and rests all day. She was proud to relate that I comes home every time he has leave, and that is about every other weekend. She looks forward to his return.

Mrs. G emphasized that she does not believe in a lot of friends because "You know where you stand when you have just a few friends." She has about two really good friends and almost no acquaintences. She considers her mother her very best friend and discusses her problems with her. Mrs. G sees her other friends once or twice a month.

Mrs. G says she is not the type to go around discussing her problems, and no one comes to her with their problems. Her only confidant is her mother. Mrs. G is a lonely and isolated woman. The one stable contact she had with others outside this small circle was in her relationship with the families for whom she worked. If she was treated with dignity and affection, then Mrs. G really derived a good deal of satisfaction from these contacts.

VII. FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 4

Mrs. G considers it natural and proper that her oldest son should be giving part of his pay to the family, just the way she considered it natural for her mother to always serve as the children's babysitter without any pay. She feels that the family should be as self-contained as possible and should assist one another.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 5

Mrs. G has had contact with the school social worker and psychologist concerning the behavior problems of K and when the boys dropped out of school. Her youngest daughter is in a special class and her teachers try to keep in touch with Mrs. G. She has had a good deal of association with the hospital in the last three years. Her most consistent relationship with a community agency is with the Department of Social Services. Mrs. G does not really initiate the use of community resources in order to help her family because she does not have this kind of sophistication or aggressiveness. Rather she waits until there is an emergency or until she is contacted by the professional staff of an agency. Then she is faithful in carrying out her responsibilities and expects to be told what to do.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 2

Mrs. G does not belong to any organizations or clubs. She used to go to church but she quit because she found that "The church was making me nervous." She said that "I have four kids and I was working too hard to give so much time to a church group." She was very angry that the other women in the group did not understand that she could not spend every night at the church. She is very anxious to join some activities outside of the home now that her children are grown and she no longer is working.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 5

In 1960 Mrs. G was denied assistance because her income from domestic work was above maximum. At that point, she had just separated from her husband. In 1964, when she was temporarily out of work she applied again for welfare but then found work. Her case was opened in March 1968 after Mrs. G was hospitalized for burns. She continues to receive supplemental assistance with part of her income coming from her son in the service and erratic support payments from her husband.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Mrs. G states that the best source of income is some kind of government support if "you can't work or have to work too hard to support your family." She feels that public assistance is the best way for her to get an income right now. She strongly agrees that if a mother drawing welfare payments cannot earn much more money by working she should stay on welfare, and mildly disagrees that most women who draw welfare would prefer to work.

Mrs. G does not feel that the Department has been fair to her. She tried to get help from welfare unsuccessfully for years when her husband left and she was struggling to support her children but it wasn't until she had an accident and was severely burned that the Department gave her some help. She feels that women should work if they feel up to it but that if they feel like staying home, welfare should help them. She also thinks that welfare should not stop helping if a woman starts to go to work to earn a little extra money. She feels that she should have lied the way her friends do to get money. "I always saw the rent was paid because I did not want the kids throwed out, but I should have sat down and said I couldn't get a job." She has not been happy with her caseworkers.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 5

Mrs. G feels that she manages money well. She pays her bills and although it is a struggle to survive on her limited income, she does manage to do it.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

Mrs. G's jobs have always been domestic work. She first worked when she was 13 years old to help the family because her father had died two years before. She was unwilling to discuss her early life, stating only that she did domestic work on and off.

In 1954 Mrs. G had to find a job because her husband was drinking and throwing away the money he made. "He would pretend that he didn't want me to work, but he would throw his money away and I had to work." She found her first job as a cleaning woman through an agency. It annoyed her that she had to pay to find work. She did not like the job because her employer treated her poorly. She would invite

Mrs. G to sit down to coffee with her and then she would deduct for these coffee breaks from her low pay. She also treated Mrs. G like a child and she felt that she was not respected as a person. Mrs. G kept the job only for a few months.

From 1955-1967 Mrs. H. worked occasionally for a woman and the woman's daughter-in-law doing housework. She also worked for another woman who had a son whom she cared for. In addition, she picked up other day work through recommendations. From 1960 to 1964 she worked steadily taking care of three little girls and cooking and doing housework. She worked every day, 60 hours per week, and her pay averaged less than $1.25 per hour. She preferred the steady work because she could count on a fixed amount of money every week. During 1964 and 1965 she only worked part time.

Her favorite domestic job was the one she held from 1966 to 1968 doing housework and caring for a young boy for $1.75 per hour. She worked for this woman sporadically. "I'd start back to work and I'd get sick and stop and then start again." When she was able to work, she would clean for this woman in the afternoons. "She was very good to me. When I was sick, she would say, 'Lay down.' She didn't want me to do hard work. Sometimes I just took care of the boy. Mrs. G was very close to the little boy. "Even now he say, 'When is Mrs. G coming back?'" Mrs. G particularly liked this employer because "She was always there when something happened to the family. You could rely on her." During this same period she also worked for a variety of families, averaging about one day cleaning for each family. In February 1968 she was severely burned while working and was hospitalized for several weeks and has not been able to work.

She is glad that her oldest son has a much better job than his father ever had and that he is advancing at a rapid pace. She is particularly proud, and perhaps a bit surprised, that in addition to his regular job I works at night as a military policeman and makes an extra amount of money.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 6

Mrs. G has worked hard since she was 13 years old. While she is embarrassed by the kind of menial work she does, Mrs. G has no desire for any job training or opportunity to learn new skills. She also feels very lost and that life has no purpose without work, because it has been such a time-consuming and necessary part of her life for so many years. However Mrs. G is resigned to not working because her health is such a problem for her. When the children were younger and needed child care, her mother took care of them. She feels she could never have gotten along without her mother's help. Her mother has always gotten along well with the children and Mrs. G feels that she always cared for them as well as she herself could have done it. She stated, "It was hard for us - the Lord knows that!"

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mrs. G feels that she always wanted to work, but that she had to work much more than she would have liked. She had to work particularly hard after she and her husband were separated. The major factor that determined Mrs. G's contentment with her particular domestic jobs was her employer's attitude toward her. She wanted to be made to feel important and respected. In the job she hated most her employer deducted coffee breaks from her pay and in the job she liked the most her employer made her lie down when she was tired and also helped the family during difficult times. Mrs. G never aspired to anything more than domestic work, perhaps because she had little education and not much self confidence. Her motive for working was always financial. According to Mrs. G the most important aspect of a job is the salary. Mrs. G made the following statement about how a woman's working helps her family, "It helps to be able to feed and clothe them and pay for other things like pleasure".

Her ideal job would be one where she didn't have to be on her feet. Mrs. G would like work as a secretary or a nurse but only sees this as a vague kind of fantasy but that it would never really happen.

Mrs. G feels that there is more prestige attached to having a job than being a housewife and would "rather work than sit around the house". Her attitudes towards work are important for her children too. She agrees that "Children should be taught that the job comes first, even it if means giving up most of the fun," and that "Working now really pays off in the future."

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 1

Her caseworker made the following statement about Mrs. G's work status, "Due to extreme hypertension and nervious conditions Mrs. G is unable to work, but indicates that she would like to work if she could. It is very hard for her to remain at home." Hopefully when her current problems with her two older children are over and they have left home, Mrs. G will have more time and psychic energy to devote to her future. Her heart condition may have stabilized in a few years so that Mrs. G will know more definitely what her realistic physical limitations are. Then perhaps with guidance from the Department of Social Service and other appropriate agencies, some kind of sedentary and simple work could be found for Mrs. G which would not require a great deal of effort or training..

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3

The satisfaction which Mrs. G found in her work was only in the helpful and egalitarian relationship which she occasionally was able to establish with some of the families which employed her. Although she would prefer to work rather than stay home, there was nothing else in the kind of menial work she did which was rewarding for Mrs. G.

Had she received financial assistance earlier in her life she mights have been better able to compensate for the sudden loss her boys, then aged 8 and 10, experienced when their father left home. It was at this particular point Mrs. G also felt the need to start working much longer hours for the first time since the children had been born. The loss of a father led to a nearly total absence of both parents. A better paying job with shorter hours would certainly have lessened the strain of this period. Without her kin to rely on, her situation would have been even worse. The problems which her children have encountered in school and because of the friends they have chosen might have been lessened if Mrs. G had been able to be home more during those years when her children were so young.

IMPLICATIONS

Mrs. G is one of the few women in our sample who married and started her family later in life, however, the record shows that she dropped out of school at 13 to help in the support of her family so did not have the advantage of more education. This lack of education and skill training may have been a major problem, however, during her girlhood: for black girls in the South, there was not much future in education and not much chance to get it. She is now living in what might be called a "culture of poverty" and hopelessness. Whether any of her children will be able to pull out remains to be seen. I, the oldest boy, might make it if job opportunities keep open for him. One wonders what will happen to J and to K. Could a black guidance counselor have helped these two remain in school, or are their problems more than a guidance counselor, white or black, could expect to handle given the home conditions?

Mrs. G, in our interviews, reported that things 5 years ago were average, the present was not as good, and she predicted the future to be worse. She is a woman who worked exceedingly long hours at times to support her family and was not able to get help. It almost seems as though Mrs. G is saying to society, "I asked for help for my family and for me when I was able to work and you refused. So I had to work hard and neglect my family. It was not until I was physically ill or injured that you paid any attention to me and cared for me and my family. Therefore, I am going to continue to be ill so that I can be assisted. Maybe eventually I will have the strength to make it on my own again with less support, but right now I am desperate and unable to cope effectively with my family and my own personal feelings. One of my most meaningful relationships and sources of emotional support left me when my sister died right in this house. So I am going to be like her and have a heart condition so that I can have the caring and attention I need."

Mrs. G's religious stance has caused her to be passive and resigned to what life brings to her. Although she accepts her place in society and her circumstances, she does not want this for her children.

Except for her dependence on her family, Mrs. G is quite isolated socially, especially now that she is not working and her oldest son is only home occasionally. Her close times to her kin, emphasize the importance of some kind of supportive relationships for passive persons like Mrs. G who are already forced out of the main stream of society because of being a member of a minority group. Without the support of her mother and sister Mrs. G would be even more lonely and desolate since she has no husband and only a close friend or 2 to whom she can turn. Her isolation is compounded by the fact that her children have taken an attitude and behavior which upset and bewilder her. She doesn't feel the closeness to her daughters that she, as a daughter, felt toward her mother.

Mrs. G and her family, with its accumulation of health problems, school problems, delinquency problems, and severe economic problems, is a silent testimony to the discrimination and neglect of our current welfare system, and an example of what is frequently referred to as the "multi-problem family".

Things are unlikely to get much better for her in her relations with her children. She is unlikely to return to work or to find new satisfactions in activities outside of the home. Perhaps she is right in her assessment of the future.

CASE STUDY OF MRS X AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 4

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 32
Education: 11th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 5 children
4 boys, 1 girl (youngest)
ages 4 to 14 years

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 2
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed: 1
No. of years on welfare: 1

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: not working
Work typology: periodic
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: waitress

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 14
No. of full-time jobs held: 1
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: 1
Longest period of employment: 14 mos.
Average job duration: 14 months
No. of months unemployed: 104
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 104 mos.

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1954		Mrs.X's first marriage				
1955	child					
1957	child		no record	unemployed until 1968		
1958	child					
1964	child					
1966	child					
1968		Mrs.X divorced 1st husband		waitress for 1 year	case opened	
1969		married Mr. X			case closed	

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

Mrs. X is in the periodic category of worker because she has had only one job in her life for just a little over a year. She did not work during her first marriage to Mr. Q even when she and her husband were having financial problems, because he would not allow her to work. It was during the transitional period after her divorce and her second marriage that Mrs. X found employment as a waitress in an ice cream parlour. She also was on public assistance during this time.

While she was working, Mrs. X found herself in conflict over her responsibilities as a mother and as an employee. Three of her four boys, ranging in age from 6 to 13, started having trouble in school. Mrs. X was quite distressed at the limited amount of time she could spend with her children and by not being able to maintain her home in the way she had formerly. On the other hand, she knew that working was beneficial to her as a person, giving her self-confidence and a sense of being able to do something on her own. She resolved this conflict by quitting her job two months after marrying Mr. X. The responsibilities of a new marriage and her five children are her first priority.

Mrs. X, age 32, grew up in foster homes after the death of her father when she was 9 and never really knew the close ties of having hew own family. She married Mr. Q during her senior year in high school in hopes of finding this intimacy within a family of her own. But her life with Mr. Q was filled with financial stress, disagreements about the children, restrictions on her freedom as a person and lack of a loving relationship between them which she needed. Mrs. X feels that her deep emotional needs resulting from the deprivation of her childhood and her unhappy marriage are now being met by Mr. X and in the new kind of family life they are establishing with the children. The X family live in a six room house they own in one of the rural areas near Ithaca. The house and yard show the organizational ability and care with which Mrs. X maintains her household.

Mrs. X does not intend to work for the next few years. She would like to have another baby. If she does enter the job market, hopefully she will be motivated to finish high school and to get some job training, possibly in secretarial skills.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 5

Working and ending an unhappy marriage have deeply influenced her life and changed her personality, according to Mrs. X. These changes for the better have been reinforced by her recent marriage to Mr. X. "Personally I'm happy and this is what I tell everybody. I never thought this all would happen, but it did; things are bound to get better. Ever since I went to work I think it gave me more self-confidence, more a sense of belonging. I'm more outgoing that I was. I think working in a public place makes you talk to people more. Somebody's always giving you a smile. You get so you've got a remark going back to them." Mrs. X is beginning to feel more and more that women should be respected as persons in their own right, not as reflections of their husband or children as she has had more opportunities to be on her own. This growth in self-esteem and confidence has enabled Mrs. X to see herself as the kind of person who speaks her mind if she is upset. "I didn't mind saying my piece to the boss." Mrs. X feels that she is about as competent as most people in managing all the different aspects of her life.

In describing her shortcomings, Mrs. X says that she isn't all all patient or cautious and that she tends to blame herself a lot for what happens. "I was also too weak - just like a doormat. My ex-husband ruled me and I took it for years until I was strong enough to stand up to him, and that gave me the kind of guts I need to be on my own." When Mrs. X gets in a bad mood, she gets her hair cut. This is a fairly new thing. She says it is a real luxury and she never could have afforded it before and seldom ever went to the beauty parlor. She says, "It's a good thing I don't get in bad moods very often or I would have very short hair!"

In summary, Mrs. X as a person is starting a new life and consequently feels very differently about herself. She is much happier and self-confident. Working has given her opportunities to relate to people. She feels competent both as a worker and as a woman who can be attractive to men. Her need to give and receive love and tenderness has been more fulfilled than any other time in her life. Mrs. X does not feel that leaving her job at the local ice cream parlour has stopped this kind of personal growth on her part. "In fact, it has helped because now I'm able to have time for myself and I'm not so tired."

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 5

Mrs. X says that she herself looks ahead not just to the next day or week but tries to look farther ahead, although "you can't say what's going to happen to you. I'd hate like heck to have my future read because if something terrible would be going to happen to me, there I'd sit waiting for it to happen wondering whether it was going to happen today." Although the future is fortunately unknown, Mrs. X is optimistic about it - feeling that life for her will be better than in the past. Her older boys hopefully will be in college. She and Mr. X will still be happily married and perhaps she will have another child to care for. Mrs. X didn't want to name a best time in her life, feeling "all the good times in my life have been all mixed up with the bad times."

But she had no difficulty in naming the worst time - the twelve months before her divorce when her first husband was in and out of her life and she had so many doubts and fears about what was ahead of her.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mrs. X quit high school a few months before she was due to graduate. She calls herself "one of those crazy ones who thought it was more important to get married - I quit in January and got married in February, 1954." In trying to evaluate why, Mrs. X said, "People get married for different reasons. Some people marry for security. Some marry because they want someone to care about them - that's what I did the first time - I don't think I'd have gotten maried if I had a mother and a father and somebody that cared about me. I don't think I'd have quit school. I lived with lots of foster people and I didn't really feel that they cared about me. They were good people; I thought a lot of them - if you've got a mother and father, somebody who cares for you - you're not so apt to marry without thinking."

For a while they worked on someone's farm. She played the real farm wife's role, feeding cows and driving a tractor. She used to put the younger children into a playpen and carry J in her lap in the tractor. But then the farm folded and they were out of jobs. Her husband was foreman by the time they left. Mr. Q forbid her to do work outside her home and restricted her going other places, too. After a few more years they bought their own farm and tried to make a go of it, but there was a pig disease going around and all of their stock died. She said this really upset her husband and it is her opinion this was one of the reasons things started going wrong for them. Because their farm did not provide enough income, he had a part-time job at a retail store in the evenings. After a while, he started coming home later and later at night. Mrs. X found out later that her husband was having an affair with someone else.

Mrs. X divorced her first husband, Mr. Q, in April, 1968, because of unfaithfulness and insolvable problems with finances and the children. Currently, the father lives nearby and sees the children once a week. At first J was very hostile but Mrs. X convinced him that Mr. Q was his father and J should see him. Since then, there have been no particular problems with the visits.

Mrs. X did not really intend to marry again. She had had such an unhappy life during the marriage with her first husband. "The people at work teased me when they heard that I was going to tie that knot again." Mrs. X met Mr. X for the first time at a bowling alley. Her friend had talked her into going - even though it meant having to make complicated arrangements for taking care of the children and getting them back and forth to a Scout meeting. Her friend's husband introduced them and managed to set up a first date. At first, Mrs. X was a little reluctant to go, but gradually they started seeing more of each other regularly. He was the first and only man she dated after her divorce, although she did mention that there was one other prospect on the scene - again through her matchmaking friend. When Mr. X first asked her to marry him, she said she still was quite hesitant. But he'd been through it - his wife had left four or five times over the last fourteen years, and Mr. X had finally gotten a divorce. Because of this bond of recent divorces, they felt they had a great deal in common, and did not enter into remarriage lightly. They were married in August, 1969.

Mrs. X has not regretted her second marriage and feels her new husband is a stable, loving man, supportive of her as a person and of her children. "This has got to be what I've had missing all my life since I was a kid. This kind of tender loving care." Mrs. X seems to want to immerse herself in this kind of atmosphere - "to soak it up" - because of the lack of intimacy and love in her childhood and first marriage. Her marriage is thus meeting some of her deepest emotional needs.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 7

The sorts of things Mrs. X feels go into making marriage work are "mutual understanding, working together, knowing what we both want and that it is the same thing and children help a lot, too." She could not think about anything over which they "usually disagreed." "It's not unusual considering how long we were married before. I think I got my fill of fighting after my first marriage and he did, too; and we are willing to each go a little bit out of the way." Mr. and Mrs. X both agree that women should definitely have an equal say in important family decisions. "We talk things over and make a joint decision - neither of us trying to win."

Mr. and Mrs. X just seem amazed that their relationship is for real. After so many years of uncertainty and anger and crises, there is a sense of serenity and hope in this home.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 7

Mrs. X never planned for any of her children, but says she was never unhappy when she became pregnant, although her first husband frequently did get upset, and claimed that they weren't his. "When I was younger I never knew about birth control. Twelve-year olds know more about those things today than I did when I was married." She adds, "I'm one of those people who more or less believes that the Lord wouldn't give you kids if he didn't think you were going to take care of them." At this point, Mrs. X isn't taking any precautions, and says she doesn't think she'll mind if she has another baby, "now that I'm home again."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. X's first husband would not allow his children outside of their own yard to play with other children. Mrs. X said their friends only could come and play at her home. She also felt that the children didn't respect their father at this time. Mrs. X feels quite differently than Mr. Q did about letting the children have independence. "I don't think it's good to keep a kid tied close to home." Right after her separation, the boys joined scouting, and now are "gone all the time." When married to Mr. Q, Mrs. X said they were always battling about the children and how to raise them. Not only was he a traditional disciplinarian, "beating the kids and using other harsh punishments, but he never had time to be with his kids - his cars and friends came first. It was ripping the kids apart."

After a few months of separation from their father, the children seemed to settle down and feel much freer and happier.

Mr. X basically agrees with Mrs. X's approach to the children which is "love them and tell them what you expect of them. Then if they get out of line or disagree, you work it out - depending on the situation and the kid." Now that she is home full-time, Mrs. X can be consistent and relaxed about her ways of setting limits and disciplining her children. When she was working, Mrs. X found she was caught in a conflict between her responsibilities as a mother and her role as an employee. "Sometimes the worker part of me would win and sometimes the mother part of me - but I always felt torn."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

When asked how she thought her children were going to turn out, Mrs. X said, "I don't know. You hear about kids who come from beautiful homes and turn out bad, and kids who had nothing at all who turn out all right." She hopes her own children will still respect and mind her when they are sixteen, but she ways, "There's no telling what the future will bring."

Perhaps speaking from experience, Mrs. X does not place much value on money as a criterion for happiness or success. The best thing she could hope for her sons is for them to be "upstanding citizens in their community, looked up to and respected - you don't have to be rich, just a good solid citizen." An ideal husband for her daughter would not have to be wealthy as far as she was concerned. "I've seen a lot of rich people that aren't happy - somebody that cared about her and would be good to her - wouldn't treat her badly." Mrs. X says she would like to see her daughter go on to college. "I think it is as important for girls to go to college as boys. I sometimes think it is more important for girls. If I'd had a better education, I could have had a better job, not as tiring, better pay."

When she was working, Mrs. X had difficulties with her children in school. Not only was she unavailable to meet with the teachers for conferences, but she also could not supervise and help the children with their homework; and she could not play with her children like she had before.

J, age 14, had always been on the honor roll but he brought home a card which was very bad. She was very disturbed by it and told him that he would have to cut down on some of the scouting activities until he did better.

He wants to go into the Air Force when he grows up. J is active in scouting and is gone four nights a week. He is a leader of one of the packs or den chief.

For a while, K, age 13, was trying to play sick and get out of school. Mrs. X stopped "this little game." K is also active in scouts but is not as interested in being a leader. He is more of a follower.

The third son, L, age 12, has had no recent problems in school. Mrs. X describes him as a "plodder - just sort of going along."

The first grader, M, was getting low grades although he used to be doing better. Mrs. X says he seems to have taken on a "don't care" attitude and she's not quite sure what to do about it. "He's too young to feel this way about school."

Most of the teachers either called Mrs. X after her working hours or wrote her a note. She particularly appreciated the teacher who called, and said he understood that it would be difficult for her to take a day off to come down to the school. This situation with her children was one of the decisive factors in motivating Mrs. X to stop working. Her youngest child, N, age 4, won't go to school until next year.

Mrs. X is amazed that her children have turned out as well as they have, considering the unhappiness, tension, and crises with which they used to live. Mr. X is very patient with them and realizes the necessary transitional period during which they are adjusting to a new father and home. Mrs. X is very relieved that now they have someone else in the family who loves her children.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 6

Family life before her second marriage "was a big joke" according to Mrs. X. "The kids and I almost had to hide any fun or doing things together from my ex-husband. He wouldn't allow it." She feels that now everyone feels free to be himself and to be together. "Separated or close - we still feel lots more like a family."

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 7

The family has not had any health problems in the past; nor are there any current illnesses or injuries.

HEALTH PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. X regularly schedules dental and physical exams for her children and for herself.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 4

Mrs. X has always lived in the same rural area outside Ithaca. The X's own their home with six rooms. They need a larger home with the five children and the possibility of additional ones. The home is in good repair and neat and attractive for an older home. There are no close neighbors.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. X is a good housekeeper. This has been her main occupation for so many years that by now she is very skillful in managing all the details so that the appearance and feel of their home is one of order and comfort. When she was working, these standards could not be maintained, which used to distress Mrs. X. "I'm not one of these cleaning nuts, but I sure used to feel depressed when things were so messy and nothing was done in the right way at the right time like I'm used to."

Mrs. X thinks that men should help with the housework, and that it is also important for her boys to learn how to cook and keep house. "After all, nowadays most men do help their wives, or if not married, they need to know how to do for themselves even more."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 5

When Mrs. X was nine years old, her father died. Her mother gave up trying to keep the family together and placed all of the children in foster homes. Mrs. X didn't know who her brother and sister were until she was older and almost out of high school. She met her sister for the first time when she was a senior. They became fairly close until her sister married and moved to Boston. Her brother stopped in and surprised her one day after he read of her engagement in the paper. In some way, which she was reluctant to define, he was a disappointment to her, so Mrs. X has not kept in touch with him. Her mother is living in Syracuse and they see each other infrequently. Mrs. X feels very uncomfortable with her mother, so in essence, Mrs. X has no real kinship ties now nor has she had any association with relatives most of her life. She feels this absence of kin has had a detrimental effect on her.

When she started working, Mrs. X says she didn't have as much time for herself as she used to. But now that she is home again, she is back in her routine. She goes bowling and her husband may take her out to a country-and-western dance. Mrs. X has maintained a number of her friends from high school and has a sister-in-law she likes to visit with. She also has a number of friends she knew from her first marriage, whom she now sees less frequently but still feels close to. She says that she doesn't think that her divorce has had any impact on her relationships with them. Her husband usually goes out a couple of nights a week bowling or visiting friends. The children also go swimming in Ithaca at least once a week, which means driving them in and back. While she waits for them to finish, Mrs. X usually visits with relatives or friends.

Mrs. X turns to her husband with problems, but seldom to others. She doesn't think she's the type to give advice to people. "My favorite remark is, 'I don't think you want advice from me, look at the mess I made of my own life.' I won't give anybody any advice; I'll talk and listen, but suppose they took it and it didn't work? Let them go to someone who knows what they're talking about."

VII. FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 3

Mrs. X had no financial support from her own family and none from the family of Mr. Q.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

Except for the Department of Social Services and Family Court, Mrs. X has not used community resources.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 6

Mrs. X never attends church or PTA. She is active as a scout volunteer, helping take the boys on trips, work on their badges, etc.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

According to the welfare records, in nine years, from 1959 to 1968, the family made four applications that were denied because it was felt that the family had enough income,but that they did not budget correctly. She finally did get welfare when she and her husband separated in January, 1968. Her remarriage plus her full-time job at an ice cream shop has taken the family off public assistance as of May, 1969.

"The day I went to work, they put me off welfare." Mrs. X says she felt glad and knew ahead of time that it was going to happen, but adds that if she hadn't remarried, she couldn't have done it alone without partial assistance. "I'd have to have help especially in winter with the heating bills."

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Generally speaking, Mrs. X says, "I don't appreciate the Welfare Department. You see people on welfare who are driving Cadillacs, while people with kids don't get it." Mrs. X is glad the family is no longer dependent on public assistance and hopes that it will never be necessary to apply for welfare again. "In an emergency or if you just can't do it on your own, then it's good to know the welfare is there to turn to, but I really hate doing it."

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. X thinks one of her most serious problems with Mr. Q was finances. They never planned ahead when it came to money. "My husband took gambles he shouldn't have." He apparently felt that "you had to gamble to get ahead," and so he invested in things like buying an old farm though not coming from a farming background himself. Perhaps the most expensive adventure was his stock car racing. Not only did Mr. Q buy his own cars, but he also raced them. Mrs. X said his parents were furious with him because they knew he couldn't afford the cost of maintaining such a project. Getting ready to pass inspections cost hundreds of dollars. He was also involved in accidents from time to time. Mr. Q forbid her to work no matter what their financial state all the time they were married.

She says that now she never spends anything until she is sure she has enough in the bank for one house payment, gas, and food. They both put their checks into a joint bank account. In deciding to buy bigger things, they usually discuss it, because they feel they should know what it is that each other wants. Mr. X, for instance, recently bought a pick-up truck. She gave a number of reasons why they decided to buy it.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 5

Mrs. X is classified by us as a periodic worker. After her divorce and on the advice of her doctor, she went to work as a waitress in an ice cream shop in September, 1968. She liked the job but didn't like having to stand so much. The owner of the place who is elderly tends to be crotchety but she prided herself on being able to get along with him. When she wasn't serving ice cream, she was supposed to be doing other miscellaneous tasks to keep busy all the time. There was always someone there to talk to.

Mrs. X says one thing she's learned from her job is how to handle people. She learned how to deal with customers who come in late-in-the-day and try to be fresh or ask for more than two dips. Mrs. X had a chance to use some of her bookkeeping skills that she learned in high school because her boss asked her to help him keep the books. She figured that she probably got enough experience with office work this way so that she could probably get a cashier's job or something similar if she wanted.

Mrs. X left her job in October, 1969, shortly after she was married. Even though her new husband urged her to continue and helped her at home, it was just too much for Mrs. X to cope with - working full-time with the adjustments that go along with a new marriage. In addition, her children showed signs of again having trouble in school similar to the preceding year, plus the initial strain of their new situation at home. It seemed to Mrs. X that the whole situation was destructive and that the best solution was to quit work. "I liked my job and felt loyal to my boss and hated to leave, but I felt that my family came first. It was really getting to me, and I sure wanted to start this second marriage out in the best way I could, so I quit."

Mrs. X's parents and grandparents are all from this area. Her father had worked as an end-man on a railroad train and when she was two, he fell off and was completely paralyzed. At this point, her mother took a job for a while in a sewing factory. Her father was not happy about his wife's having to take a job but after a while they adjusted to it. He died when she was nine. Her brother is a sort of jack-of-all-trades. He always has a job but frequently changes from one job to another job, according to Mrs. X. Her sister works as a waitress in a drugstore and her brother-in-law is a plumber.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 6

When she worked, she used a neighbor who lives just up the street as her babysitter. This arrangement worked out satisfactorily. If Mrs. X had the choice, she would rather leave her children with a friend than at a center. She also thinks most women would rather be with their children themselves when they are small. Transportation to work was complicated but possible.

The most important obstacle to Mrs. X's working, besides her family situation, is her lack of job skills and training and the fact that she didn't graduate from high school.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

WORK ATTITUDES

Mrs. X said it wasn't her case worker's idea that she go out to work. "The welfare thinks a mother with school-age children should stay at home." It was her doctor's advice. "He told me,'you've got to get out of the house, you're going nuts.' I had lost twenty-two pounds from worrying constantly. The doctor said that no man's worth it. No matter how much housework you've got, you've still got the chance to think...and I was doing too much of it. Going to work and talking to people takes your mind off your problems. I'd say it helped a lot." How do her friends feel about her working? "Oh, they almost all thought it was a good thing, they know what it did for me - a few felt I ought to be home with the kids - I guess maybe they're the old-fashioned ones who think a mother's place is with her children, that a babysitter doesn't take the place."

Although she knows it has improved the way she feels about herself, Mrs. X has mixed feelings about working. She would really rather stay at home with her kids like her old-fashioned friends. She says she enjoys taking care of her house. But then Mrs. X qualified her thoughts a bit, saying that even back when she didn't have all the modern conveniences, she would get all her housework done and have nothing to do. Her house was immaculate. "I must admit I was bored." She says she stayed home when she thought it would be better for her kids and when they were having problems. "If we all are doing okay and I'm getting restless and I'm not pregnant, I might go back to work but that's a lot of 'if's!" Mrs. X says, "I don't think there's anything that would make me leave a small baby. It is a wonderful thing to watch a child take his first step and say his first word, and I wouldn't want to miss it."

Mrs. X is basically ambivalent about working. The one time she sought employment was under a special set of circumstances. She had just divorced her husband, was on her own, and on public assistance for the first time in her life. Staying home and worrying about all this plus the adjustment period her children were going through was making her so nervous and upset that her doctor thought working would be beneficial. It was very good for her as a person, giving her self-confidence and an opportunity to prove to herself what she could do on her own. Her constant exposure to the public increased her ability to relate to others.

Yet, despite these positive gains, her family responsibilities were a source of constant frustration to her, when she couldn't handle them in the same thorough manner as before,and especially when her children were having scholastic problems in school.

Even though she says she intended to continue working after her marriage to Mr. X, and despite his help and support, Mrs. X stopped working soon after her wedding. She sincerely says she didn't want to jeopardize her new marriage by this basic conflict between home and job responsibilities. Yet one has a feeling Mrs. X was also relieved and glad to stop working so she could devote her full time to her family. She really seemed to have mixed feelings about continuing to work even before her wedding and might have quit even if she had not married Mr. X.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 4

In the immediate future, Mrs. X will probably not be employed. She will feel the need to stay home with her new husband and children. Given Mrs. X's deprivation of familial closeness for almost her entire life, the intimacy and support of her present relationships and the family solidarity and communal life which is developing are meeting some basic emotional and psychological needs of Mrs. X. It seems unlikely that she will want to partially leave this to go to work. Especially if she has a baby, she will probably be home for the next five or six years. There is a possibility, however, that if she doesn't have a baby, Mrs. X might consider part-time work in a year or two, after her children are re-established in school and have adjusted to their new father, and after Mrs. X is willing to leave the satisfying and comfortable life she has at home for part of the day.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 5

The worst part of work was that after Mrs. X had been gone all day, she still had the same things to do at home that used to take her all day. The children and her husband helped, but it's not the same. "That messy house really got on my nerves."

She also formerly had more time to play with the children. She used to do things like play football with them. She feels that when she was working, they competed for her attention by more rough-housing in the living room, hoping that she would come in and tell them to quiet down. She definitely feels that her working was the reason for the children's slump in school. Always before, she had given them time limits on playing, watching TV, doing homework. They were never allowed to do the last two simultaneously. She says, "I wasn't around to supervise them and they told the babysitter they didn't need to do any homework." Working negatively affected the children in the way in which they got along with each other, also, according to Mrs. X. "They were so used to me being home to referee the fights and arguments."

When she was working she also noticed that her food bill was much more expensive. "You can't do a roast or a stew and if you do a spaghetti, it has to be a quick one - that leaves steak to fry and hamburger, but you can't have hamburger seven days a week - chili, and any of your cheaper dishes take a while and you can't bake potatoes. Anything in cans costs you more and there's just no economical way of doing things."

Working seemed to help her through the transitional period between her marriages when she needed to face new challenges and meet new people; and it prepared her to date Mr. X and consider remarriage. "I never would've met my new husband if I hadn't been working. Do you think I would've talked to a stranger? I'd never have gone out with him before I went to work." Her other personal benefits from working have been discussed.

IMPLICATIONS

If Mrs. X decides to return to work after a few more years at home, she will probably look for a part-time job to lessen the conflict she formerly had between home and her employment. She should be encouraged to obtain her high school equivalency diploma and to seek some kind of job training. At present, she feels hesitant about doing this - "job-training programs are mostly for younger people. I don't think I want to go back to school."

She doesn't particularly care for again doing waitress work, because the pay is poor and it is necessary to be standing constantly. She would like a "job where I can sit down a little bit or where I could be my own boss." She thinks she's too old now to learn how to use a dictaphone, although she did learn in high school how to take shorthand. One thing that made her feel as though she wasn't going to be able to learn new things was the trouble she was having trying to help her son with his homework using the new math.

Success in learning a new job skill, such as using the dictaphone, would probably be all the motivation Mrs. X needed to be willing to go back to school and enter a job-training program. Mrs. X has indicated that the ideal job for her might be as a nurse, secretary, bookkeeper or clerk in a store. Since she took a secretarial course in high school and did a limited amount of bookkeeping when working, it might be that an office job would be the most realistic choice for her. One of the more subtle reasons Mrs. X may not be strongly motivated to work is because she finds so much satisfaction in maintaining her home and in her maternal role. She would like to have another child despite haveing five already. Mrs. X is very involved in the lives of her children and would not want work interfering with this.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. A AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 5

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 31
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 3 children
2 boys, 1 girl, ages 7 to 13

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: High school
Husband's work status:
Husband's usual occupation: electronics

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on public assistance
No. of times case closed: none
No. of years on welfare: 3

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: periodic
Skills and training: clerical
Usual occupation: clerical

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 48
No. of full-time jobs held: 1
Total no. of jobs held: 1
Longest period of employment: 48 mos.
Average job duration: 48 months
No. of months unemployed: 84
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 84mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family + 4

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare Changes	Other Changes
1956		married	Mr. A in service			moved a great deal
1957	child					
1959	child					
1963	child		electronics technician at a local college	-		moved to nearby city
1966		separated				Mrs. A moved to Ithaca
1967				records lab at a local college		
1968				promoted	case opened	
1969		divorce			no closings to present	

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 5

We have classified Mrs. A as a periodic worker because she has just recently joined the labor force after many years of staying at home. During the ten years she was married, Mrs. A did not work even though her husband expected her to help support the family. She was busy caring for her three children and being a wife of a serviceman who constantly had to move. After her separation in 1966, Mrs. A suddenly felt strongly motivated to work and was able to find a clerical job at a local college. Working opened up many new vistas for Mrs. A and gave her the self-confidence to ask for a promotion when an opening in her office became available. She was promoted and is currently supervising fourteen other workers. Mrs. A has received a supplementary grant from the Department of Social Services since 1968 because she receives no child support from her husband and does not earn sufficient income to be entirely self-supporting.

Mrs. A has three children. She has a very satisfactory relationship with her daughter who is seven years old but finds it difficult to manage her two boys who are eleven and thirteen years old. Mrs. A dreads the next few years when both boys will be teenagers.

Mrs. A keeps to herself at work and in other social settings, preferring her privacy to an involved relationship with men or women. Someday she would like to remarry but does not feel that she is ready for that step yet. At present she is satisfied to limit her world to work and her home.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 4

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of Mrs. A is that she is a loner and prefers to be an isolated individual. She thinks of herself as an introvert and spends lots of time by herself thinking. Mrs. A is not unfriendly or cold; she is able to react to others in a socially accepted way; but she allows herself no deep and intimate relationships. Mrs. A says, "If I had an extra hour a day, I would spend it alone in privacy".

Working has changed Mrs. A's world. Her outlook on life and her sense of worth are now very different than when she was married. Now Mrs. A is ambitious for herself and sees herself as a "good worker." She considers herself highly organized and efficient at getting things done, but these changes and sense of self-esteem seem limited to this one area of work.

Overall, Mrs. A does not seem to value herself highly as a person or to feel that she functions well in her other roles besides that of worker. Mrs. A had a difficult time thinking of five adjectives her friends would use to describe her but finally came up with: introverted, hard-working, quiet, intelligent, and concerned about her children. She says her children would describe her as mean, nasty, nice, a little hard-working, and bossy. To her feminine means being "turned on and sexually attractive." Mrs. A feels she is feminine. Her caseworker describes Mrs. A as "intelligent and a conscientious woman who is a competent worker, a good money manager, and an adequate mother."

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 5

Mrs. A feels that she has some control over what happens to her but that many circumstances are forced on her. She sees her whole world as revolving around her work and home and finds this routine satisfying. Mrs. A has no desire at this time to move beyond this into more of a life for herself. She thinks she has worked out most of her feelings and problems connected with her divorce and being independent. She did not seek help from professionals or from friends but did it on her own. The best period of Mrs. A's life has been this one of being on her own. "Before, I lived a non-descript life in the shadow of my husband and kids. Now I feel I am really a capable person in my own right at work and find this very fulfilling."

The most important change Mrs. A would make in her life if she could relive it would be to delay marriage until she had finished college. She feels that she wanted to get married when she was so young because she had no goal in life. Her mother didn't have enough money for sending her to college and there was no one to urge her to do this on her own. "I had a typical pre-women's lib. idea of my place in life - marriage and kids."

The worst period in Mrs. A's life was prior to her final separation and immediately afterwards. Mrs. A sees the next five years as a rugged period of her life and is quite pessimistic because her boys will be teenagers. She is worried about drugs and sex and school, but feels that this may be her natural tendency to "borrow trouble." Mrs. A feels life will be better when her boys are on their own or at least in college and she is married again.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

Mrs. A was married right after graduation from high school in July 1956 and became pregnant right away.

The A's moved around a good deal during their first six years of marriage when Mr. A was in the service. They then settled in Watkins Glen where his family lives and where he grew up. While in the service, he was trained in electronics and until last year when he returned to school he worked as an electronics research technician at a local college. Her former husband is attending a community college in a nearly city and has plans to continue his education until he can be an English teacher. This new direction in his life really surprised Mrs. A. After their separation in June 1966, Mrs. A moved to the Ithaca area because she felt that there would be more work opportunities and because she had a friend here who found her a place to live. Mrs. A is quite bitter and disgusted about trying to get support from the children's father. He defies the court orders and "the court doesn't do anything about it so I don't bother anymore."

Mrs. A describes her husband as "moody and a loner who kept his feelings inside and was usually silent." When married, Mrs. A seldom went our socially with her husband and rarely talked with him. They had few interests in common. In fact, Mrs. A raises this as one of their biggest difficulties - their lack of communication and sharing. Money was the other big problem for Mr. and Mrs. A. The case record notes that Mr. A was interested in material things but could not handle money. "They separated because Mrs. A didn't want the children affected by these family problems."

Mr. and Mrs. A seldom made decisions together. Instead she would give in to his demands. The really crucial decision which Mrs. A initiated and followed through on was the separation and divorce. "I felt such a relief when I left. Even though I was determined during my ten years of marriage not to get a divorce like my mother, there were crises all the time. As early as the second year of marriage, I could hardly stand it but stayed with him for the kids' sake. Then I finally realized what a mistake that was since the kids were beginning to be upset by our fights and the tension." Mr. A tried for two years to live with her again and only gave up when the divorce became final in 1969.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 3

Mrs. A feels that she is not ready to date and have a social life of her own yet. Mrs. A was embarrassed when she explained that she pretends to be married at work saying, "That really sounds sick, doesn't it? I wear my ring and never talk about my life outside work."

Eventually she would like to remarry. She doesn't want to grow old alone. Before she takes that step she wants to have marital counseling with her prospective husband. Mrs. A sees her children as the "number one stumbling block to my getting remarried. They would need to accept a new father. If they didn't, I won't bend. They will have to accept a step-father or go live with their own father. I'm willing to sacrifice for my kids up to a point but not give up a lifetime of happiness for them." The thing which Mrs. A values most in a marriage is companionship."If there is not companionship, there can't be anything else including sex." She didn't have this companionship with her first husband.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 4

Mrs. A wanted three children before she was married. Her daughter is the first girl in over fifty years on Mr. A's side of the family. She doesn't think she would want more children if she remarried. However, Mrs. A feels any final decision about children would have to be worked out with the man she married. Mrs. A feels that she can really enjoy her children when they are pre-schoolers because they are not demanding and are a pleasure to have around. "But as the children get older, there is more conflict and more demands from them and I find that hard to take." For her a good mother is one who is loving, caring, available, and firm as needed.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 4

Mrs. A feels that she and her husband agreed in general about a common approach on discipling the children although she was the one who had to do most of it since she was home. But she also feels even though there may have been agreement in this area, the difficulties which she and her husband had were causing other kinds of problems for the children.

Mrs. A seems to feel most inadequate in her role as a mother of two preadolescent boys. "They are too much for me and it's going to get worse." While Mrs. A has a hard time dealing with the movement toward independence and individuality of her two boys, she is still enjoying her daughter who has not yet asserted herself. She hopes that her daughter's life will be different than her own with no divorce but would not hope for "pure happiness since it is the ups and downs of life which make it interesting; but I hope my daughter is stable so that she can handle whatever comes."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mrs. A is very dissatisfied with how her children get along together. She thinks that they relate to their friends very well and approves of their choice of friends. Mrs. A feels that "kids from broken homes have a special intuitiveness. They have to be tough enough to make it." Mrs. A feels that children should be taught that there is something they can do about the way things are going to turn out in life.

At present, she has a difficult time relating to her oldest son, J who is thirteen. She describes her oldest boy as "immature, selfish and completely wrapped up in his own world." This is the only time when she wishes there were a man around. J sees his father twice a month and has a good relationship with a science teacher at school and spends extra hours with him after school. J gets good marks in school and hopes to go to college. He is active in the band and Boy Scouts.

Her other son, S age eleven, she describes as "drifting, following in the shadow of his brother." He is not applying himself in school but Mrs. A is not pressuring him at this point. He enjoys the bi-monthly visits with his father.

Mrs. A's daughter K, age seven, is a quiet child and does well in school, according to Mrs. A. She is used to having her mother work and has made a good adjustment to the arrangements her mother has made for her care after school. K keeps out of the way of her brothers and in some ways seems to be quite independent and almost adult-like.

Mrs. A expects at least two of her children to go to college. She hopes that her former husband will help the children with college expenses. If not, "They will have to make it on their own."

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 4

Mrs. A does not feel that her children are close to one another or that there is much family unity. As an illustration of this, she noted that when the children talk among themselves about her or Mr. A, they refer to them as "my mother or my father" rather than Mom or Dad or our mother or father.

During the week, life is too complicated for much "family togetherness," according to Mrs. A. Evening meals are "hit and miss because I'm too exhausted to do any real cooking but on weekends we have real meals together and do other things." She "horses around" with her children, goes swimming in the parks or at Ithaca High School, goes biking or plays tennis. She feels that she is "sports minded" and likes to do this kind of thing with her children but feels that this will change now that the boys are entering their teens and have their own schedules and interests.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 4

Mrs. A has no health problems and the children are all healthy. During her three years of working, her children have not been sick. Mrs. A feels very relieved by this. If the boys were not seriously ill, they could stay home alone but she would need to stay home with her daughter.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

Mrs. A lives in a small cement block house in a village near Ithaca. She rents her home. It has a large yard for her garden and for her children to play in. The house is in good condition. Inside, it is sparsely furnished and messy but not dirty. Mrs. A has made no attempt to decorate or make the house "home-like." As she explained it, "I'm not artistic when it comes to fixing up my house. I just have what is necessary for living and that is it."

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 4

On a typical day, Mrs. A gets up very early in the morning. The boys fix their own breakfast since she leaves the house by 7:00. On her way to work, Mrs. A leaves her daughter at the day care home, picks up two riders and is at work by 7:30. She leaves work by 4:00 and then after leaving her riders and getting her daughter, she unwinds by reading the paper. Dinner and a limited amount of housework follow. The best part of the day for Mrs. A is when she is asleep or working. She finds that the worst part of the day is thinking about what is facing her at home after working. She sees weekends as an extension of household drudgery, relieved in part by family kinds of activities.

Mrs. A hates housework with a vengence. Being tied down to only home responsibilities made her "stir crazy." Mrs. A finds it very difficult to get her children to help with the housework. Her feelings seem to be that her children don't give her the cooperation and recognition she should have and she feels "put upon and like a servant."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 1

Mrs. A feels she has practically no leisure time. She is very involved in her work and "gives her all." By the time she comes home she is tired, and then must face her responsibilities of being a mother and homemaker. Even on weekends, she is busy with her children and home. What little leisure time she can find, she spends reading, sewing, knitting and watching T.V. In the past, she has made most of her own clothes. In warm weather, she likes to garden. She is on a bowling team one night a week with people from her work. This is her only outside activity.

At work, Mrs. A is friendly in a "superficial way" and appreciates limited relationships she has with her fellow workers but is essentially a "loner." However, she is very careful not to let these contacts develop into social relationships outside of work. Mrs. A says that those with whom she works "know nothing about me." She does not seek out individuals or groups. Her relationship with her boss she describes as "a good one because he has confidence in me and lets me handle things my own way."

Mrs. A seldom returns to Watkins Glen even though she lived there four years. Her friends there were really her husband's friends. She feels uncomfortable visiting his family. Mrs. A seems to have cut herself off from her family. She has one brother in Baltimore but has not seen him in years and knows nothing about him or his family. She has no expectations of visiting him. Her mother is living in San Francisco. Their communication is limited to infrequent letters with no visits in years. Mrs. A did not indicate what has caused this disruption of family ties. Mrs. A feels that there is no to whom she could turn to for help. She has had to work her problems out by herself. Mrs. A feels that "this is wearing but I also hate to put my burdens on someone else."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 1

There is no one to whom Mrs. A can turn to for extra financial support. She is too proud to ask her mother and has no other relatives or friends to whom she could turn.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 2

Mrs. A is as isolated in her community contacts as in her relationships with individuals or groups. She does not seek help from any organizations or agencies except from the Department of Social Services. Her attempts to use the Family Court have been disappointing and frustrating.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 2

Mrs. A has gone to almost all the P.T.A. meetings of the school in her village. She voted in the last election. Mrs. A does not hesitate to say that she only has enough time and energy for her own family and her work. She has no desire to be a volunteer in a community program or to be involved in any club or organization.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 5

Mrs. A's case was opened at the Department of Social Services in December 1968 soon after she separated from her husband. At that time she was not receiving any child support but was working so she was given a supplementary grant. Her case has remained open since then.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. A did not mention that she had been on public assistance. When asked how she felt about welfare, she said, "Welfare is a good thing if you really need it but it should not be abused. Part of the answer is to get the fathers paying what they are supposed to pay. They let the fathers off too easily." Mrs. A was really upset when she talked about this. Some of her friends have been on welfare. Mrs. A feels strongly that if a woman drawing welfarepayments cannot earn much more money by working she shoudd stay on welfare.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

During the time Mrs. A was married, her husband handled the finances, giving her just enough money to live on. She feels Mr. A was stingy and didn't really provide for his family as he should have done. Now Mrs. A feels she manages her money very well. Finances are a problem only because of her inadequate income.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 6

When she married, Mrs. A expected to work after the children were in school. Although her husband wanted her to work and assumed that she would right after the marriage, Mrs. A felt that she was too busy with her small children and that she did not have any skills with which to compete in the job market. In addition, her husband was in the service and so it was necessary for them to move a good deal. Even though she made some attempt to find jobs during these first years of marriage, positions were scarce because of the competition with other service wives and the unwillingness of employers to hire people who were transient. Evidently, her inability to find a job and pre-occupation with her children at home were sources of trouble in their marriage - a "bone of contention" as Mrs. A describes it.

The situation was very different after their separation. Within seven months, Mrs. A was working. Her initial motivation was financial because her support from her husband was sporadic and minimal and finally, he gave up support payments all together. In addition, her two older children were in school and her daughter was three years old and didn't require as much as as when she was younger. Mrs. A also said that by this time she was going "crazy being at home."

Mrs. A heard about her present job from friends. She began work in February 1967 at a records lab at a local college. She was a file clerk and kept records. She worked thirty-nine hours a week for $3800 a year, beginning in February 1967. Mrs. A liked it until she became quite competent and then was bored. It was about this time that the woman in charge of supervising the clerical help left her job and Mrs. A applied for her position and was accepted in June 1968 with the title of assistant supervisor. Mrs. A is very satisfied with most aspects of her present job and it is her main interest in life. She is not bored with her present responsibilities but sometimes feels that "she is pounding her head against the wall" when attempting to handle the personnel problems of the fourteen people she supervises. Mrs. A finds herself caught in the "crunch" of having certain workloads which must be met and rules which must be followed on the one hand and trying to make other kinds of decisions based on the personal needs of those she supervises on the other hand. In working out these conflicts, Mrs. A feels she is "closely meshed" with her boss and carries out his wishes while at the same time being given freedom to make her own choices when possible. Mrs. A does not see herself being promoted again since the next position up would be that of the coordinator who is not planning to leave. Her caseworker noted that Mrs. A functioned competently on her job and finds working highly rewarding.

Mrs. A's mother worked all the time she was growing up by demonstrating electrical appliances in department stores. She enjoys this kind of work and is still doing it. Her father was a broker. He died before Mrs. A was born and her mother married a career officer in the service, so during Mrs. A's pre-school years, the family moved around a good deal. Then her mother divorced her step-father when she was five years old and settled in Baltimore. Mr. A's parents worked at a salt plant where his father was a maintenance man and his mother was on the assembly line. They are retired now.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 6

When she began work, Mrs. A found a woman she knew in her community who took care of her children in her home for a year. Her daughter was there all day and the boys came after school. They were unhappy because the caretaker while not being neglectful seemed to be indifferent to them. At the same time their sister was satisfied because she was the center of attention. Then Mrs. A found another woman to care for her daughter all day while high school girls looked after the boys after school at the A's home.

Mrs. A feels that the best arrangements for child care are her present ones. She has found another woman who has ten children of her own and also lives in the same community; she cares for children in her home. Mrs. A describes her as a "great person who loves children, can handle them in a relaxed way, and still keep her home in good shape." This woman cared for all three children in the summer of 1970 and now cares for her daughter who comes after school. The boys are busy with after-school events and are old enough to be on their own. There are really no obstacles which make it difficult for Mrs. A to work. Her only regret is that she doesn't have enough time to spend with her children.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

Before starting to work, Mrs. A felt that she had "not been out in the world," and that she could do absolutely nothing. Being employed has opened up a whole new way of life and feeling about herself. She has proved to herself that she can handle responsibility and do a good job. Mrs. A feels that she would work full time even if she had a guaranteed monthly income which was adequate. Being a full-time homemaker is no alternative for her now. Mrs. A feels strongly that having a paid job is a lot more prestigious than being a housewife; but she thinks that women with pre-school children should stay home rather than go out to work.

Mrs. A has a few traditional work attitudes. She feels that it is more important for men than women to be ambitious and to have skills which are necessary for getting a good job. She also thinks men make better bosses than women.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 7

At present Mrs. A is satisfied to stay where she is because she finds the job challenging and knows she is doing a good job. However, she realizes that there is little opportunity for promotion in her present job. If she is to find a better job, she will either have to acquire additional skills, go back to school or find another higher paying job within the college or some other place. Mrs. A would like to go back to school someday but sees no way to do that in the immediate future. Mrs. A is not cautious when it comes to work. She would prefer to change to a job where most things are new than to stick with a job that she knows she can handle. Therefore, it may be possible for her to find a supervisory job with more responsibility through the lists of openings which are circulated regularly by the college personnel office, or she may hear in other ways of additional job opportunities in the Ithaca area.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 5

For Mrs. A, working has been a means of coming alive as a person in her own right and of entering the world. Before this time, when she was married and staying home, she felt that she was quite sheltered and had no life of her own. The combination of working and being on her own after her separation and divorce has given her the opportunity to prove to herself and others that she can be independent and is capable of handling a very responsible job. While she still feels more comfortable being a loner with superficial relationships with her fellow-workers, Mrs. A is far less isolated now than before she was working. For Mrs. A, work is the most important aspect of her life at this time.

Working means that Mrs. A has more difficulties in maintaining a well-run home, but she feels burdened by housework whether she is working or not.

Mrs. A feels that working has a negative effect on the family because it means there is a lack of proper supervision of the children. Even though the boys are old enough to be by themselves after school and are usually busy with extra activities, Mrs. A would feel more comfortable if she could be home to see that the boys did their homework and to be available if they needed her for any reason. "I really feel like they are getting away from me when I'm gone so much."

IMPLICATIONS

With some people like Mrs. A, there seems to be only a gradual carry-over to other roles and settings of the changes in her personality and self-esteem gained through working. She sees herself as functioning effectively at work and knows she is accepted by her supervisor and co-workers as a responsible and fair person. Yet when she is at home, she feels that her children give her no recognition for her accomplishments or what she does for them. She has little self-confidence in her ability to deal with her boys. Somehow, the separation and divorce seem to have freed both Mr. and Mrs. A. He is changing careers even though it means that he must go back to school for four or more years. It is difficult for a woman alone to deal with teenage boys. One compensating factor for Mrs. A is the regularity of the boys' visit to their father. In addition, the older son has formed a good relationship with his science teacher. Such father-substitutes play an important part in the lives of boys from families where the woman is head of the household and works.

Women seem to maintain the same kinds of housekeeping standards and practices whether they are working or at home all the time. The difference seems to be in the amount of time they have for household tasks. Mrs. A does not spend any less time cleaning now than she did when she was married but finds it more difficult to do it after work or on weekends. She also dislikes doing it as much.

Mrs. A would be self-supporting if Mr. A paid the child support agreed upon in the divorce settlement. She would also be self-supporting if she had an adequate income. There are many women who are partially dependent on public assistance because of low wages or a lack of child support from their former husbands. A higher minimum wage combined with opportunities for promotion on their jobs and a more satisfactory method of forcing fathers who are working to contribute to the support of their children would enable these women to become self-supporting and truly independent.

Mrs. A has indicated a willingness to seek professional help before marrying again. If she finds herself unable to cope with her two sons, she might also feel motivated to try family counseling as a way of working out her relationships with her children and her functioning as a mother.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. B AND FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970) + 3

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 33
Education: -
Race or ethnic background: black
Children and ages: 10 children, 7 girls, 3 boys
age range, 4 years to 17 years

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on public assistance
No. of times case closed: 0
No. of years on welfare: 11

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: periodic
Skills and training: as community aide
Usual occupation: clerk, before training

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 64
No. of full-time jobs held: 2
No. of part-time jobs: 1
Total no. of jobs held: 1
Longest period of employment: 31 months
Average job duration: 28 months
No. of months unemployed: 68
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 68 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family + 2

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1951		married	in service			
1953	child			department store		
1954	child					
1955	child					
1957	child					
1958	child				case opened	
1959					case closed	
1960	child	separated		college dining room	case re-opened	
1961	child				case re-opened until present	
1963		divorced				
1964	child					
1965	child					
1966	child					
1968				restaurant community aide to present		

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 4

Mrs B has been classified by us as a periodic worker. This is because she worked for short periods with a long duration of time between jobs. When she was first married, Mrs. B worked in a local department store , and after T was born she stayed home until 1960. Then she had a job in a dining room at Cornell for a brief period until the birth of her next child. It was not until 1968,that Mrs. B again returned to work, this time as a waitress in a restaurant. Shortly after she started this job,she was asked to become a community aide in a local social services agency. At first, she tried working part-time at both places but found this kind of schedule too difficult. Mrs. B preferred her job as a community aide and has continued working there.

Mrs. B is 33 years old and quite attractive. She is about average height, is slightly plump with a very short Afro and a medium brown complexion. She is of Indian, Black, and Irish descent.

Mrs. B appears to be a quiet, yet frank and strong person.

There are 10 children ranging in age from 4 to 17 years in the B Family. Two of the children have rather serious behavior problems. Presently all of Mrs. B's children are in school except the youngest, who is in a Head Start program.

Mrs. B quit school at 17 to get married in 1951, but after several separations,was divorced in 1963. According to Mrs. B the major cause of the divorce was that Mr. B had been an only child with a strict mother, leading to a build up of disagreements over the children. Mrs. B has a boyfriend, C, whom she eventually intends to marry. He spends lots of time at her home and gets along very well with the children. She feels that C has a great deal initiative and is considerate.

Mrs. B stated that her family was fairly well off until her father died. Then her mother took in washing at night until she became ill and the family had to go on welfare. Mrs. B's mother, whom she sees almost daily, and sister live in Ithaca and her brothers live in other parts of New York State.

In past jobs, Mrs. B has been an elevator girl, a housekeeper, a cashier, and a sales girl. She is currently receiving supplemental assistance from welfare.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 3

Mrs. B's image of herself has improved considerably since she has been working as an aide, although she is still lacking in self-esteem. She does not give herself credit for being as competent as she seems to be and is worried about her sense of feeling happy - stating that this is one of her most important problems. Mrs. B has been labeled by her family as the one who is different. This designation is gradually acquiring a positive new meaning for her as she discovers it can be beneficial to be different from one's family. Finances, her children, and homemaking are other problems which bother Mrs. B. Mrs. B stated that "I would need a whole sheet of paper to list all of the things I worry about." On the other hand, Mrs. B's list of what gives her satisfaction is rather limited - her appearance, her children, reading, and an ability to learn new things rather easily.

Mrs. B identifies these qualities in herself - very tender and affectionate, patient and a good listener. She shows her natural aggressiveness when she says she is inclined to speak her mind and is somewhat ambitious for herself - qualities which have blossomed during the last three years. On the negative side, Mrs. B feels that she does not function well in organizing and getting things done. Five adjectives which Mrs. B felt that her friends would use to describe her would be: nice, considerate, friendly, easy-going, and different. She felt C would probably add affectionate and teasing. Mrs. B is an intelligent and competent woman whose initiative, natural resourcefulness and aggressiveness are being developed through her work and training as an aide.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 5

Mrs. B feels that things were best for her when she was first married-everthing was new and beautiful-a new house, car, furniture and husband. Things were worst for her when she was divorced. She had to start all over. She feels that things will be better in the future - the children will be older, she will own her car, and the house will be half paid for. She may also be married to C and she should be back in school. If she had it to do over, Mrs. B would have waited to get married until she was around 25. She also would have gone on to college and actually would have changed everything about her life.

Mrs. B has a rather fatalistic view about what happens to her, feeling that "the breaks which come my way are all set up. But I'd better grab them when they are pushed at me and do something with those breaks. They won't be shoved my way again." So even though she seems to wish she could re-live her life, Mrs. B doesn't spend too much time worrying about the past. Rather, she is trying very hard to take advantage of every opportunity which comes her way to make a better life for herself.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTION AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

Mrs. B preferred not to talk about her former husband except to say that their biggest problem was how to raise the children and that she was glad it was all over. Until very recently, Mrs. B had no desire to get married again. "Me in that trap again! Never!" However, her relationship with C seems to be making her more receptive to the idea and she mentioned several times how she expected to be married sometime in the future "when we are both ready and willing." She is quite proud of C and likes the kind of attention and understanding he gives to her. "Understanding is the most important thing. My man has got to see me as I really am and accept that!"

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 4

Mrs. B and C seem to have a good relationship going for them. He is quite supportive of Mrs. B in her various roles and does not want to take away her independence and newly-developed assertiveness. C seems to be secure enough in his own new job and as a person that Mrs. B does not threaten him with her abilities and general competence. He also gets along well with the children.

When Mrs. B and C get into a disagreement, it is C who usually gives in. Mrs. B feels he is almost too considerate. She is always the one to start the arguments. She feels that couples tend to disagree about money, children, and cars.

Mrs. B favors equality in a marriage relationship. She strongly agrees that a wife should have an equal say in the important decisions in a family and have her own life. It is not enough for a woman to get respect through the accomplishments of her husband and children. "She should be respected for what she has done on her own. She's a person, too!"

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT OF MATERNAL ROLE rating 4

Mrs. B is a realistic woman. "I know I have ten kids and I'm their mother and they will be around for a long time." She definitely does not expect more! Although not sure this applies to her own family, Mrs. B feels some of the good things about having children are a deeper family relationship, more sharing and more involvement. Some drawbacks, however, are not enough money, clothes, or time for each individual. Mrs. B feels that every mother is basically a good mother. "Being a mother is something which happens to you and you do the best you can. A mother is a mother!"

Yet despite her feelings that motherhood is a natural occurence which one accepts, Mrs. B has a difficult time doing the "best she can." Her parental responsibilities seem to overwhelm her at times to the point where she just withdraws and lets the children's lives go on around her or escapes actively into her own life.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 3

Mrs. B rated her current situation with her children rather low. She is quite worried about what is happening to some of her children and feels that her being away from home so much has given the children too much time on their own. On the other hand, she feels that she is much more relaxed and patient with her children. "My kids say I'm really a different person the last couple of years. I seem happier and more active." This kind of double-bind is hard for Mrs. B to deal with.

Mrs. B seems to relate well to her children. She does not believe in physically punishing the children, although her mother does. "I'm not the old-fashioned kind of mother." If the children do something wrong, Mrs. B tries to talk with them.

Dealing with needs and individual differences of ten children is a demanding job. Mrs. B tries hard but often feels that she fails. "There is just not enough of me to give each of those kids what he needs."

Despite her limitations as a mother, Mrs. B hopes her children will be well-educated and good citizens when they grow up. She has no special dreams for them. "They have to do that on their own."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

Mrs. B feels that generally her children do not get along with each other very well, but do get along with their friends. Most of the children do about average work in school. None of them have dropped out. Because of their age range, the children have a variety of activities.

After school Mrs. B's two oldest daughters work. The other children go to a community center after school, where they do crafts, play ping-pong, work with ceramics, or are tutored. They come home for dinner after the center closes and then go back to the center for the evening. Most of the children do average work in school. M and L are brighter however. M plans on going to college and major in English to become a journalist. She has planned to do this since she was in the 5th grade and her teacher influenced her greatly. M has had an o.w. child. N is also interested in going to college to become a fashion designer. She has become interested in this since she has been in high school. "She messes around with her own clothes a lot." O has been to Family Court as a juvenile delinquent. He has serious academic and discipline problems.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 3

Mrs. B appears to be a person who is interested in the welfare of her children. She worries about how they are doing and does the best she can in keeping the family together and in trying to relate to each of her ten children. However, because this seems to be a burden which is sometimes too much for her, the children have been left to go their separate ways much of the time. There is little sense of solidarity and common life within the B family. Mrs. B makes few attempts to bring the family together - at times she feels the need to escape. Asked if she had extra time to do things with her children, Mrs. B said, "I would probably get a babysitter for them and get out of the house."

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 4

The family has no serious health problems. In 1963, Mrs. B had anemia which was overcome under a doctor's direction. She has had three miscarriages. P has a mild case of epilepsy.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 2

Mrs. B lives in a neatly-painted white house. The front porch is painted gray and contains a chair and several wood slats. Inside is a different scene. On the stairs are piles of clothes and rags. The living room contains a few chairs, a couch, a new-looking stereo record player. The room is cluttered with old clothes, a wig, wooden heads, bottles, and other articles besides bugs. The dining room was in much the same condition. Mrs. B makes no apologies about the conditions of her home. "People who don't like it can leave." Mrs. B is buying her home from her brother. She feels that it is an improvement over where they had been living.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 2

It is a big problem for Mrs. B to care for her home. She feels that she does not have any help with things around the house and that the children should help her a lot more now that she is working. Her laundry is not done at home since her automatic washer has broken down. She cleans only when she feels like it. It seems that housework is just one burden too many. "Cleaning is last on the list. All I can do about it is worry."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS - KIN AND FRIENDS

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 4

Mrs. B sees her mother daily, but the frequency of visits from her siblings depends on where they live. Her sister sees Mrs. B whenever she comes downtown. Her brother in Syracuse visits about every 2 weeks, her brother in Rochester about once a month, and her brother who is in New York City only on holidays. She never sees her in-laws, but "makes" the children go over to see them. Mrs. B gets along with her in-laws but "we stay out of each other's way and do not bother each other." Mrs. B feels that she has nothing in common with her own family although she is close to them. "I do everything wrong, and they are right." This negative feeling about her place in her own family is gradually being changed as Mrs. B grows in self-esteem and confidence in herself as a person. It has helped her to have her own home. She was living with her mother at the time she decided to move ten years ago. Now that she and her mother are living apart, they are getting along much better. Mrs. B is able to be less dependent on her mother's support and more able to handle her life in her own way.

Mrs. B feels that she gets along with others worse than most people she knows. Yet she feels her friends understand her as well as anyone does. Mrs. B does not see many people besides her children and fellow workers. On week-ends, she just relaxes. Mrs. B has two best friends who do not work and whom she sees about once a week. She does not miss going out more or having more friends. "It's too hard for me to make friends - I'm happy with those I have."

Mrs. B would turn to her minister for help with family problems. She also feels C could help her with certain problems. Mrs. B avoids her family when needing advice and support.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 5

Mrs. B feels she could get a loan from her brothers if necessary. C is also able to help her financially.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 7

Mrs. B has actively sought help on her own with a number of local social services agencies including Family Court, schools, Planned Parenthood, MOVE, EOC, Red Cross and South Side House.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 6

Mrs. B belongs to the local Community Action Program and she attends meetings when she feels like it. She also belongs to a woman's group which she attends every week faithfully. She goes to PTA when she can. Attendance at church is quite frequent for the family. Mrs. B has done volunteer work. She has been a den mother and girls' group leader and activ at a local community center. Although Mrs. B did not vote in the last election because she did not feel like it, she usually does vote. Mrs. B reads the newspaper every day. Mrs. B does not see her community involvement as time she should be spending with her family. "If I can help make this a better place to live and can help some kids, I'm really helping my own family, too."

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

Mrs. B received public assistance for two short periods in the late 1950's, when Mr. B could not support the family. Her case has been continuously open since she separated from her husband in 1959.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. B does not like welfare and is constantly fighting the Department of Social Services. She discussed how they did not want her to keep the car which she had bought. She especially did not like this because "I bought it with the money I worked for." She feels that she is human, too, and has a right to it. Mr. B pays her child support and she gets a small grant each month "anyway." Another thing she does not like is "those kids straight from college telling me how to do things. They do not like me at the welfare because I stand up for my rights." She feels that the Department should get rid of all of the supervisors and all other authority and bureaucracy. "The whole system is wrong. There is too much paper work and too little of getting to know families."

Mrs. B thinks that most women who draw welfare would prefer to work, but that if they don't earn much more than they receive from welfare it is better for them to stay on welfare.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 3

Mrs. B feels that her financial situation is a very big problem. Presently Mrs. B keeps track of all of the money, and plans to do so when she and C get married. She does not have any special way of getting money for little extras. If she sees something she likes and there is food in the house, she gets what she wants.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 5

Mrs. B started work in a department store in Ithaca in 1953, because she needed money after she had a miscarriage. She stopped work when T was born, to become a full-time housewife. Mrs. B began working in a dining room at Cornell after Q was born in 1960. She was separated, and she moved to her present home and had bills to pay. "In those days, working was to keep the bill people off my back." After becoming a full-time housewife again, she went back to work in 1968,because she was financially pressed. First she worked at a restaurant for a few weeks, and then at a social services agency as a community aide.

Mrs. B feels that her job level and her standard of living have improved. On her present job as an aide she does a little bit of everything. She works with groups, makes home visits, attends meetings, speaks to groups and makes referrals to agencies like Legal Aid. She feels that the poorer the family, the less receptive they are to her advice. She cited one case which she thought was particularly bad. The woman "had maggots running all over her table." Mrs. B thought these conditions were because of the woman's emotional problems. She feels that the main problem of low-income families is emotional. "All that worry and just trying to survive gets to your head and messes you up."

Mrs. B considers the best part of her job to be working with people. "When I started listening to these people - it sounded like me talking - same old problems - all in the same old boat." Mrs. B enjoys her job. It is interesting and not hard. Her pay is good,and she can work the hours she wants,except for group meetings. Mrs. B could not think of anything she disliked about her job right off,except the paper work. She has never felt like quitting.

She happened to get her present job through working as a volunteer. The woman whom she worked with told her of the opening. If the woman had not asked her to take the job,she probably would not have taken it. Even then, at first Mrs. B tried to get out of it because she was just not motivated. "I just didn't think I could swing it. Imagine me with all those professionals."

Mrs. B's mother worked after her father died. Before her father's death, Mrs. B felt that her family was quite well-off. After his death, however, her mother stayed up all night doing men's laundry until she got sick,and the family had to go on welfare until 1954. Mrs. B feels that her mother "did not know how to do nothing then, and still doesn't." Things have gone much differently for her sister than for herself, according to Mrs. B. Her sister was the youngest in the family and got "the cream of the crop - the good clothes and went on to school, but I had to work and help Mama because I was the oldest." Mrs. B's sister is a secretary at Cornell University. One brother is a policeman; one is a machinist; and the other brother is going to New York University. Several of the children work. M has a job in the office in the high school; N runs errands at a community center and O works for a doctor shoveling sidewalks.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 6

Mrs. B has not had much of a problem with child care. When Mrs. B worked before her children were in school, she paid her mother to care for her children. She felt that her mother treated the children all right, but they did do things differently. Mrs. B feels that she is just the opposite of her mother, who is very strict and has to have things just so. "There is never anything out of place in there - just like a museum." Since her mother was never mean to the children, she let her mother do much as she wanted. All of her children are in school, except for T who is in a Head Start day-care center. Mrs. B feels that Head Start is good for T and she enjoys it.

Mrs. B had on-the-job training for her position as an aide. Mrs. B would like to return to school to obtain her high school equivalency diploma and then go on to college.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

Mrs. B feels that most women who work "basically" really want to even if they marry. It gives a woman a feeling of independence. It is her opinion that most men, however, do not like their wives to work and don't respect their wives more if they are employed. Mrs. B feels C is an exception. "He is really proud of the job I have and brags about me to his friends." Mrs. B prefers to work. It is not just a way of making a living, although the salary is a very important consideration to Mrs. B. It is very important to Mrs. B that she also have a job which is respected and where she can use her skills. Mrs. B likes to work so that she has an opportunity to get out of the house and away from her children. She feels that things go better for her when she is working because her work allows her to "relieve her tensions."

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 5

Mrs. B is an intelligent, aggressive woman with a good deal of competence and initiative. She would like to get the kind of education beyond high school which would enable her to be promoted within the County Extension Service. Mrs. B might also like to be a practical nurse, dental technician, lab technician or a secretary if she could get this kind of training.

The best job she ever had is the one she has now. Mrs. B's future employment opportunities will depend on the additional training and schooling she is able to arrange for herself and on maintaining her present high degree of motivation and self-confidence.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 4

The overall effect of work on Mrs. B has been very beneficial. It has increased her happiness and self-esteem and independence. Being employed has motivated her to move out of the rather limited kind of life she had before. Mrs. B is gradually acquiring a different perspective on her relationships to her own family. Despite some strong fears about her ability to get along with people, Mrs. B has a good working relationship with the other aides and her supervisors.

Work has had a detrimental effect on the children. Since Mrs. B is gone most of the time after school the children have had too much free time which has been unsupervised and unstructured in which to get into trouble or make a nuisance of themselves in the community. Two of her children have been in rather serious trouble the last three years. Mrs. B has been more concerned about her children since she has been working. She feels that their behavior, their appearance and their performance in school is somewhat worse. Mrs. B is very dissatisfied with the degree of responsibility they are assuming. However, despite the conflict between the personal benefits Mrs. B gains from working and the harm it may be doing her children, it would seem that the positive aspects of work for Mrs. B are more important than the negative consequences. According to past and present caseworkers, Mrs. B should continue working if at all possible. She has a difficult time coping with her children and perhaps being away from them for part of the day is good. She is concerned about her children but is unable to handle them when she is with them constantly.

Because Mrs. B does as little as possible around her home, working has little effect on her role as homemaker.

Mrs. B and C both have jobs they enjoy and are supportive of each other in fulfilling their work responsibilities.

IMPLICATIONS

Mrs. B has recently acquired a strong drive to change the direction of her life and has actively been seeking help to continue with her schooling and involvement in the community. The new Human Services Program for para-professionals at the local community college should be quite suitable for Mrs. B once she has her high school equivalency degree.

Mrs. B needs help in dealing with her children, especially now since so many of them are teenagers. Perhaps family counseling at the Mental Health Clinic or Family and Children's Service would be beneficial. She also needs more assistance around the house and in organizing her life. In addition, one of the goals of family counseling could be to increase the solidarity and communal feelings of the B family so that the members could function together to maintain their home in satisfactory condition, as well as to participate in common activities. If Mrs. B marries C, then she might have additional assistance and emotional support to achieve these goals. If Mrs. B would have had fewer children, it is quite possible that she might not have been on welfare and her whole life might have been markedly different - a good case for early family planning!!

CASE STUDY OF MRS. S AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY +1

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 30
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and age:
5 children - 1 boy and 4 girls
age range - 5 to 12 years

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
Number of marriages: 1
Number of divorces: 1
Husband's age: unknown
Husband's education: high school
Husband's work status: employed
Husband's usual occupation: construction

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current Status: receiving partial assistance
Number of times case closed: none
Number of years on welfare: 3

EMPLOYMENT (Jan.1960 - Dec. 1970)

Current status: not working
Work typology: periodic
Skills and training: typing
Usual occupation: clerk

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

Number of months employed: 36
Number of full-time jobs held: 1
Number of part-time jobs held: 2
Total number of jobs held: 3
Longest period of employment: 26 months
Average job duration: 18 months
Number months unemployed: 96 months
Number of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 70 months

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 1

Year	Birth Dates	Marital Changes	Husband's Work changes	Wife's work Changes	Welfare Changes	Other changes
1957				office job a few months		graduated high school
1958	child	married		office job for 3 years		
1961	child					
1962	child					
1964	child					
1965	child					
1968		separated		waitress	partial assistance	ruptured disc
1969		divorced				

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION Rating 4

This woman has had three jobs and she is classified as a periodic worker. She is not working at present but she has had experience in clerical and waitress work, with a fair degree of skill. The care of young children together with a back injury pose substantial problems to her working in the future, or at least for some time. She is currently on partial assistance since May 1968, living on a combination of support payments and assistance.

Mrs. S is a slight, good-looking Caucasion woman of thirty. She is carefully groomed and extremely youthful looking for a mother of five children. She is very vivacious and extremely friendly. It would be difficult to tell from meeting her that she claims to be afraid of the outside world. She had a history of financial problems since her husband was gone for long periods and she is now divorced and living in one side of a two-family home owned by her mother.

The family consists of a nine year old boy and girls aged twelve, eight, six and five. There are no problems of any sort with the younger children but the oldest girl was treated at the Mental Health Clinic because of serious personality problems arising from her relationship with her father and her parents' subsequent divorce.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION Rating 2

Mrs. S has good self-esteem in areas where she feels competent, that is, looking after house and children, decoration of home, personal care, etc. Her expression of self-image is, "My friends would describe me as a stay-at-home. That's what they always say. And a good housekeeper. I'm really hard-working around the house. And I guess a lot of them would say I was strict and conscientious. The kids? I figure they'd say I was strict, too. And helpful and dependable. I'm here all the time. They think I'm a good cook, too." She says she feels that most men think a woman is feminine when she gives in to them and is cute and lives for her house and family. "I'm a little like that, but without the man."

Mrs. S is an extremely dependent individual and has some symptoms of paranoia. In the case record there was reference to her thinking a store owner was spying on her and she fears that gangs of Negro boys are going to burn down her home. This is reflected in her fear of going outside her home and meeting people. It also accounts for her staying with her husband through years of neglect and financial difficulties. She recognizes her problem and is glad that she must get her Food Stamps in person and thus get outside her house. Earlier she used to spend weeks at a time in the house and let the children do the food shopping. "I feel it's really big outside and sort of frightening. The people at Mental Health said I should try and get out and see more people outside my family, but I haven't. If people want to see me, they have to come here."

One of Mrs. S' strengths is her ability to care for her home and her high standards of housekeeping. "I clean every day and wash the children's clothes. Just that's a lot. In the summer I have a garden and I can for the winter. It doesn't save very much, but I've been doing it since I was a kid, and I enjoy it."

LOCUS OF CONTROL Rating 2

Mrs. S' locus of control extends only to her front door. She doesn't think she can do much to change things from the way they are now. "Five years ago I was miserable. Now things are a lot better. My husband is out of the household and we are making a stable income for a change." She worries occasionally that she is not doing as well as her girl friends, "but generally speaking I don't let jealousy get me down. At least we have some things to be grateful for."

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT Rating 1

Mrs. S met her husband at the private school where she was studying in order to graduate early from high school. "He (Mr. S) was just back from the war and like a lot of the guys he hung out with, he was talking a lot about going to college. So he was studying to make up some courses and we met and started going out." Mr. S did not go on to college but became a construction worker. After they were married, his work history was irregular. "My husband would work and not work, sometimes not even bother to sign up for unemployment insurance because he knew my family wouldn't let us starve. Sometimes I even had to call my brother in New York for the rent money. And it wasn't only the not working. He'd get drunk a lot of times on payday and come home and beat up on the kids. Other times he'd just clear off for a while. It's funny, he was a quiet guy when he wasn't drunk, didn't say much to anybody. But when he got loaded, he was something. He even came and took the money he gave me for groceries sometimes, if he ran out in the middle of a card game, or a bar session." Mrs. S thinks her husband is still working on construction. In 1969 Mr. S, according to the caseworker, was arrested for attempted burglary. He pleaded guilty but no sentence was recorded.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY Rating 1

This was never a stable marriage. The wife was seventeen or eighteen when married and had her first child at eighteen. The husband left home when the baby was three weeks old. "Just picked up his paycheck and never came home with it." After working for four years, Mrs. S was reunited with her husband and became pregnant with the second child. For the next six years she was at home and had three more children. During this period, according to the case record, Mr. S received a six month suspended sentence for beating his wife. After ten years of marriage, which include three years of separation, the couple was divorced in 1969 and since then, "things have been much calmer."

"My life with my husband was never satisfactory. We never did things together as a family. He used to go out drinking and gambling, never gave a damn whether we had enough. We were constantly needing money from my relatives to get along. I wish sometimes I'd married the other guy and never had the children. People are always telling me I should go out on dates and get married again. I got people bringing guys around sometimes. Last time it was a deputy sheriff, but I wasn't interested. The kids don't want me to anyway and besides, things are going well now. If I got married again it would only disrupt the way things are. He might not get along with the kids and I'd be back where I was before, maybe worse.

"My husband didn't talk much about his work when he was living with us. If something happened to someone I knew, or something like that, then he'd tell me about it, but not much else. I'd tell him about what happened during the day with the kids and how they were doing in school. I generally kept track of the money he gave me. It wasn't too bad when he brought his paycheck home. I tried to help him by looking after the house well and raising the children as best we could but I couldn't stop him from drinking, which was his main problem at work as elsewhere. We generally decided together about where we should live, and things like that. He made the decision about my not going to work though. He was insistent on that. I didn't care much one way or the other. Since the beginning of our marriage, the things we disagreed on most were the children and money, and indirectly, his drinking.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE Rating 5

"As far as the children are concerned, I would rather not have had any. They're great kids and I love them very much and would do anything for them. But with what happened with my husband, I would just as soon not have had any. He really gave me a hard time there for a while there and was telling me that I was crazy. I felt bad about the children not having a father, too, and he played on that and said the children would grow up strange because I had kicked him out. But Mental Health said there couldn't be anything wrong with them because they were working well in school and seemed to be healthy and normal. The children are a lot of company for me, and comfort too, but I have had a lot of worry about them on account of the way their father is.

"I have no trouble with the children. If they misbehave, I make them go to their room and stay there until I say they can get out. My husband used to really get after the kids when he was drunk, although when he was sober he'd pretty much leave it up to me. He'd say,'Why don't you do something about it? Why do you just let them go on yelling?' I'd tell him they were sick of hearing my voice and would probably shut up if he told them to.

"I never have any discipline problems with the children. They're on the whole very well behaved. Everyone always tells me that. Because of the problems we've had with my oldest daughter, I have felt a bit closer with her. But I try not to show any favoritism."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES Rating 5

There is nothing to indicate that Mrs. S does not take good physical care of the children. The only psychological problem mentioned is that the oldest girl did not get along with her father.

Mrs. S expects her oldest child will be in college in five years. "I'm trying to get the kids to study a lot so that they can go to college. I have a lot of books in the house for them and part of my discipline is making them do their homework."

In regard to her children's future, Mrs. S stated, "My daughter says she's never getting married. Under the circumstances, that's understandable. She always felt that she was the only one in the world whose home was broken up. When it happened with her cousin too, she felt much better about it, understood it somehow, and she's closer to her cousin now than she was before. But she thinks she wants to be a career woman and not get married. My friend Diane has a really good job and gets to go wherever she wants, like Hawaii last summer. My daughter thinks she's great and wants to be like her. She wants to be a teacher. If she does get married, I'd like her to marry a responsible hard-working man who doesn't drink. I don't care who she marries as long as he supports her and stays with her. I feel the same way about my son. As long as she's a nice person and not an alcoholic, I'll be happy. I think it's obvious how I would like my son and daughters' lives to be different from my own."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT Rating 3

Aside from the problems with the older daughter, which now seem less with the husband gone and with the help provided by the Mental Health Clinic, the children seem to be functioning well.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY Rating 6

The family of mother and children now is a happy group, doing things together, but apparently not moving into the community to any large extent.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS Rating 4

Mrs. S' physical condition continues to limit her ability to work long hours at physically demanding work, but she is able to keep her house well. Her fear of going out and her seeming paranoia may be a problem, one which will persist. Now that her family is stable she may relax and it may be possible for her to move out a little more than she is now able.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES Rating 6

The house is one side of a semi-detached building in a lower middle class neighborhood in the city of Ithaca. It is in relatively good condition and is owned by the subject's mother. This is the neighborhood in which Mrs. S was born and grew up. The house is beautifully kept, with living room, kitchen and dining room on the first floor and three bedrooms on the second floor. There are two more bedrooms on the third floor which Mrs. S is in the process of redecoration. The furniture is shabby and limited, but there is evidence of thoughtful attempts to improve the appearance of the rooms, such as an interesting arrangement of dried flowers in the sitting room.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES Rating 6

"On a typical day when the children are in school, I get up, get the children's breakfast and get them off to school. Then I start washing. I go next door to my mother's to use her machine. Then I clean and make the beds. My older daughter is home at 2:30, so if there is something I need help with, I'll wait until she gets home. Then we have dinner. After dinner we'll watch t.v., or play records or play with a marble game my husband's uncle made. I generally play a game with each of them. They go to bed around 9:30 and I go with them. I used to stay up to watch t.v. by myself, but lately I've been going to sleep with them. It means that I never have any time to myself. The routine is pretty much the same every day."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT Rating 7

"I was born and raised in Ithaca. My father came here from Italy and married my mother who is American. They were both working when I was growing up. Italians are very hard-working people.

"My family always got along all right. My mother and father both worked until they retired and my father died, a year later. There were five children so we all had to help out a lot. I sometimes felt like a slave, my mother had me doing so much of the work. But we owned our own home and had a decent life. At least my father stayed with us, though I never was too crazy about him.

"My husband's family was pretty sad. They had a repair business, but my father-in-law drank and they were always asking for welfare. Finally they put all the kids in foster homes or with relatives. I sometimes see his sister; she lives down where the children go to school. We don't speak very much though. And his mother and step-father ask me to bring the kids to stay at their farm. We haven't been there since last year.

"My brothers and sisters didn't do that much better, and what they have, they deserve. My sister divorced her husband a year ago and is working as a typist. My brother works hard for what he has and is a good family man. My sister-in-law just doesn't appreciate what she has. The way she keeps that house! My older brother is a computer programmer and lives in New York. He never married and just spends his money and doesn't worry about the future. Sometimes I wish I could have been able to have been like that--able to take off and go where I wanted. He has a really good time. He walks every morning to work on Wall Street and hasn't got mugged yet. My other sister is married to a reformed alcoholic. She's been through bad times with him and he's a real good husband to her now. I don't resent the things my family has. They've worked hard for everything.

"I've always seen a lot of my mother and my brothers and sisters are around a lot, too. One sister lives in a nearby town and a sister and brother live in Ithaca. We have holiday meals together and are always in close touch. I know I can always depend on them. They've never let me down like my husband."

There is an apparent cycle of poverty in the husband's family, though not in Mrs. S'. His parents were forced quite frequently to go on Public Assistance. Apparently Mr. S also reflects the financial and drinking problems of his father. Also, Mrs. S seems to feel that some of the unhealthy relationships in her family are a reflection of the previous generation. She mentions how her father favored her brother and her husband favors her son. And the explosive relationship between herself and her father is reflected in the husband-daughter animosity. However, Mrs. S feels that she relates extremely well to her children and this would appear to be substantiated by her descriptions of family life.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT Rating 7

"I'm very close with my relatives, much more than to other people. I still see a lot of the neighbors where I used to live, but only on a drop-in basis. Mostly, as I said, I stay home with the children." If Mrs. S were in trouble, she would turn to her family for help. "We help each other out in whatever way we can. I clean my mother's house and have my sister's children to stay over. They looked after my kids when I was in the hospital, and I didn't have to worry about them at all. I don't have close relationships outside the family where people would come complaining to me, or I to them." The family has helped with financial assistance many times.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES Rating 5

Mrs. S mentions using the Family and Children's Society, the Mental Health Clinic and Headstart. She seemed grateful for the help she received but put no special emphasis on it. In passing, she also referred to the Legal Aid.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY Rating 2

The only community activity mentioned was the PTA. This she did not enjoy because she felt the officers were not really elected, "just decided on by the people going out." My husband and I voted the same way most of the time. He didn't force me or anything, but we talked about these things with other people and in the family, so it was natural we would have the same opinions. I haven't voted every year, but I try to get out and do it, especially when I know something about the people in the local elections."

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS Rating 5

According to the case record, Mrs. S has been on welfare continuously since 1968. With support payments from Mr. S, while Mrs. S was working, the family was able to manage fairly well. When Mrs. S had trouble with a disc and had to have surgery on her spine, she applied for public assistance.

The caseworker noted that Mr. S' family have been on and off welfare for years.In regard to Mrs. S, the caseworker does not see her as being independent financially, but she does suggest that it would be good for the woman to work part-time. This would get her outside the home for periods of time and might help to relieve the emotional problems that are detrimental both to her and to the children.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT Rating 2

"Since I got ill I've been getting welfare. It's comforting to know that a check will be coming in every two weeks. I've never really had a stable income before and although it's not much, I can depend on it. When I first started, my divorce payments were budgeted in and I only got a small check. A year ago, my caseworker said I could get my payments made over to the Department and have them send me all my money. I did that, since my husband would often be late with his checks. I find I can manage with the help my family gives me, as well as neighbors and friends. I've been living in this town all my life and people know me and my family."

FINANCIAL PRACTICES Rating 4

Mrs. S finds that public assistance provides her with a lot of security and she manages to budget her checks pretty well from the looks of the house. She is by no means living in poverty. She doesn't seem to feel any great shame about receiving welfare checks. She feels a loss of self-esteem due to her disadvantaged position relative to her family and friends, but this was true while she was still married and not yet receiving P.A.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS Rating 5

"When I was in high school, I got my first job. I worked part-time as a cashier in a supermarket after school. I needed the money for clothes and other things. There were five of us in the family and there wasn't that much to go around. I even managed to save enough to go to summer school at a private school, so I could graduate early from high school.

"I graduated high school in 1957. A neighbor told me about an office job. It was pretty general work--typing, filing and answering phones. The job wasn't very enjoyable for me. It was a very small office and we got on each others' nerves, it was so crowded. I didn't like the lady who ran it very much, either, and I couldn't go shopping on my lunch hour. And the pay was no good. I only got $150 a month for full-time. I was glad to leave that job."

Later, after her first baby, when her husband left her, she worked three years in a small office doing billing and some bookkeeping. "I got friendly with some of the other girls who worked there and we had a really nice time. I still see one of the girls I worked with then. By the time I left, I was earning $75 a week and was running the office. The reason I left that job was personality differences. They hired a girl I didn't get along with and they wouldn't fire her when I asked them. So I quit." Her husband was back by then and she was pregnant, so she probably would have quit anyway.

The S's were divorced a little over two years ago. At that time the three oldest children were in school and the two youngest were in Headstart. Some friends offered her a job as a waitress in their restaurant. "I had never worked at that kind of job before, but the hours fitted in pretty well with the children, so I decided to try it. I worked 11-3 and two nights a week. I had different baby sitters for the nights. It was difficult to keep them because my husband would call up and harass them, saying how were they taking care of the children and why wasn't I there. He was pretty nasty. Also, the children were upset at my working and would cry on the way home from school unless I could tell them that I wasn't leaving that day at suppertime. Aside from these problems, I enjoyed the job very much." While doing this job, she developed the disc problem and had to stop work. She has not worked since.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT Rating 4

Mr. S was opposed to his wife working and she thinks that is because he was afraid that if she were to be independent she would leave him. Although she enjoyed some of her work experiences she feels that she must stay home and take care of the children. She knows it is good for her to get out of the home, but she has made no attempt to find a part-time job that might be fitted into her children's school schedules. There were no expressions of any strong feeling for or against women working.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES Rating 4

"I didn't think much about jobs when I left high school. I just figured I would be married like everybody else. Not many of my friends went on to college so I didn't think about that. I had a typing course in high school and that's how I got my jobs, but they were not what you'd call vocation courses. If I had it to do over again, I would like to have some skill to offer on the job market. I don't know exactly what, but maybe being a programmer like my brother would've been interesting."

Mrs. S would be willing to do some studying at home, go to classes at night and pay part of the cost if she could have vocational training. One obstacle to her working is the ruptured disc in her back. She also reported having an acute peptic ulcer and a collapsed lung. Mrs. S is young enough to profit by training which would give her skills, and if she were earning an adequate income she could make arrangements for the care of her children and for transportation.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS Rating 2

"I'm not very well and couldn't likely get another job outside the house. If I could I'd like to get another job like the one I had in office where I had some responsibility and pretty good money. Ideally, I'd like a job that would fit in with the childrens' school hours. But there's nothing much I want to do with only a high school education."

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING Rating 4

Working, for Mrs. S, has been mainly good. For herself, as a person, it was very good to get out of the house and meet people and to feel competent in ways other than keeping house. Her working was difficult when she could not find adequate child care, but of course this was compounded by her husband's behavior.

IMPLICATIONS

Mrs. S' situation would undoubtedly be improved by the fundamental change of having more money. This could be through getting a job and receiving the ADC exemption, but her emotional problems would seem to make this unlikely or difficult.

Mrs. S could grow as a person and feel less dependent and afraid if she could bring herself to accept a job. An adequate counseling service could help her but even better, it would seem, would be a good job at hours she could manage while her children were at school. A school-related job would be good. Even though Mrs. S feels the PTA officers are pre-selected, she would be an ideal worker for PTA causes and might find these activities a way to make more contacts, which would help her be more secure.

CASE STUDY OF MRS Y AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY - 1

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 34
Education: 9th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 6 children
1 deceased, 3 girls, 2 boys
age range 5 to 20 years old

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation:
painter and construction worker

WELFARE: (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: receiving public assistance
No. of times case closed: 5
No. of years on welfare: about 4

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: no (day care mother)
Work typology: periodic
Skills and training: -
Usual occupation: waitress and day care

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 46
No. of full-time jobs held: 2
No. of part-time jobs held: 1
Total no. of jobs held: 3
Longest period of unemployment: 50 months
Average job duration: 21 months
No. of months unemployed: 86
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 65 months

Chronolology showing important changes in the family - 1

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1950	child	married	unstable work history	waitress		
1952	child			waitress		
1953	child			home for6 yrs.		
1954	child	separated on and off				
1955	child					
1957				waitress,5 yrs.		
1961		permanent separation				moved to Ithaca
1962				waitress in cafeteria	case opened	
1963				waitress in store	case closed	
1964				worked both these jobs together	opened and closed 3 other times	daughter killed
1965	child			unemployed for 3 yrs.		
1968				day caremother to present	case opened to present	
1970		divorced				

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 4

Mrs. Y has been classified as a periodic worker because in the past eleven years she spent more time unemployed than employed--(eighty-six months unemployed and forty-six employed.) For the last three years Mrs. Y has been partially supporting herself by being a day care mother and taking children into her home. According to the definition of "employed" for this study, which was to be "employed for pay outside the home," this day care work is counted as nonemployment, which for Mrs. Y, distorts the picture somewhat. In the past, she had two periods of employment with long periods of unemployment in between.

Mrs. Y dresses neatly but is rather heavy. Her appearance is young and she is attractive, although her eyes are ringed and she always looks sad.

Mrs. Y was married at fifteen and is now a young thirty with five living children (one died a few years back.) She has three older girls and two younger boys with the youngest still a preschooler whom she cares for at home along with the other children for whom she provides day care. Mrs. Y had a long history of marital problems but was only able to finalize a divorce a year ago. Now the family is more stable.

Two of the girls have had out-of-wedlock children, but one was married and now is in college and hopes to be a teacher. The older boy has been a problem. Mrs. Y was happier when the children were small, since she finds the teenagers more than she can handle.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION Rating 4

Mrs. Y seems like an independent woman. She'll get what she wants but her aspirations are not very high. Mrs. Y has self-confidence that she can carry on adequately without her husband. She sees herself as a person who is very cautious and yet able to speak her mind no matter who she is talking to. She thinks she is quite tender and affectionate. Mrs. Y feels that she is efficient at getting things done and is about as competent as most people she knows. She seems to be a strong woman with a lot of self-esteem. Yet she feels that it should be enough for any woman to get respect through the accomplishments of her husband and children. Mrs. Y finds a lot of satisfaction in her health, her work around the house and her friends. Her biggest problems are her children, money, and personal happiness.

When asked what words people might use to describe her, Mrs. Y hadn't the slightest idea. She did say that she got along well with people and that others, especially her children's friends, asked her advice. Mostly they wanted help with their relationship with someone else. One situation was that of a girl wondering whether she should marry her boyfriend who was joining the army. "I told her what could happen, what should happen, showed her the ins and outs. They worked it out themselves. I think people have to make their own decisions."

LOCUS OF CONTROL Rating 3

When asked what time of her life, since her marriage, had been the hardest to cope with, Mrs. Y replied, "Now, with these teenagers." But she feels she is better off now than she was five years ago. In the next five years all her children but her young son will be grown and out of the house. When asked what sort of changes she could envision in the next five years, Mrs. Y said that she might find someone to marry, although she had no one in mind.

Mrs. Y could think of nothing she would change except her marriage. She is not sorry she did not finish school, and doesn't plan to in the future. Many people Mrs. Y knows have gotten worse paying jobs than she has despite their better education.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT Rating 2

Mrs. Y was fifteen when she married in 1950. Her husband was eighteen and worked as a union painter or a construction worker. She described him as having a drinking problem. Mr. Y had a very unstable job history due to poor work skills and habits. He was constantly being fired from jobs or quitting because of alcoholism. Mr. Y also had extra-marital affairs.

Their longest separation before their final one was one year, during which time the family moved from Elmira to Ithaca in 1961. The move was made in the spirit of reconciliation to give them both a second chance. Mrs. Y said that she thought she wouldn't have to be working when she came to Ithaca because her husband would support her then. "You never learn," she said. Mrs. Y has been deserted by her husband and separated from him off and on since then. She received a divorce in 1970 after proceedings were carried on for more than a year. Mrs. Y has not seen Mr. Y for over eleven months and does not know where he is at present. He has never paid her support money. He doesn't visit and "has never been a father to the children." She said he hadn't even sent Christmas gifts to the children---not even the youngest child, which had surprised her. She did not talk freely about him.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY Rating 2

Mrs. Y said she did not think she could ever really live with a man again because she had her own way of doing things and it would be too hard for her children. But she still thinks about being attractive to men. Mrs. Y has given indications that she likes going out with men and has hinted that sometimes after her older children are on their own, she might consider "finding a man" for a more permanent kind of relationship.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE Rating 3

Altogether Mrs. Y has had six children, one of whom was killed in 1964. If given the chance to do it over again, she would not want any children. Despite her denial of wanting children, Mrs. Y accepts her maternal role and is almost constantly in a mother type of situation. Her job, as such, is child care. Four of her children live at home, and she is mother to many of their friends as well. She believes in birth control. "I wish I had known how to prevent having babies. My life today would be very different."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES Rating 2

Mrs. Y feels frustrated and unable to deal with her teenage children. Her reply to the question, "How would you handle it if you knew one of your teenagers was skipping school?" was. "I'd yell at them, that's what I'd do." She feels that a situation like this one needs a father for the necessary discipline. "A mother just can't make them do it." Mrs. Y senses that she is inadequate in filling the father's role in the area of discipline, but seems proud of her children's trust and confidence.

Her problems with her children seem not so much due to the fact that her working takes her away from them timewise, but Mrs. Y is so absorbed with younger children that she can not as realistically relate to the problems of her teenagers. She loves to take care of babies. Working, combined with the husband's being absent, clearly has strained her. One has the feeling that although Mrs. Y has coped with enormous problems, like her husband's drinking and the death of her daughter, she perceives her present problems getting more complicated and beyond her control. Whereas these teenagers once brought peace of mind---she didn't need to hire a baby sitter for them and they could take care of themselves---they are now very present and complex human beings. Mrs. Y is not so confident about her ability to influence them.

None of her children has dropped out of school, but three would like to quit. Mrs. Y is really concerned about this. She wants them to get a high school diploma. "Then I don't care, except I hope they don't marry young like I did." When asked what advice she'd give to a person who was pregnant and afraid to tell her family, Mrs. Y said she would advise the girl to tell her family. "If she seemed ready and eager to make a go of marriage, then get married. But mostly, a girl in that situation is not ready to get married and it would be better for the child to be adopted out. So many people want children and can't have them." If her own daughter were pregnant, she would want to raise the baby.

Mrs. Y has followed her own advice. The case record indicates that two of Mrs. Y's children have had out-of-wedlock babies. Mrs. Y's oldest daughter is attending a college. She is nearly blind as a result of being born prematurely. She was married at eighteen and has a one year old son, which her mother takes care of during the day. Her marriage was annulled. She would like to do social work, or work with handicapped children after she graduates. The second oldest daughter is on probation for being a wayward minor. According to the case record, her mother could not handle her. She is a senior and was engaged to a black boy, who was described by her mother as intelligent, with ambitions to be a lawyer. Mrs. Y said she never openly disapproved, but rather, made him welcome in the house. If her husband had known about this he would have been very upset as he is strongly prejudiced. She herself claims no prejudice, doesn't mind friendships between blacks and whites, but feels they should not marry. Her daughter was left out of family invitations, received no gifts from her relatives and was generally ignored. This led to second thoughts and the breaking of the engagement. Mrs. Y's caseworker states that Mrs. Y appears to have a difficult time understanding today's "generation of youth," especially their feeling that all men are truly created equal. This daughter took her first job at a drug store. She would prefer working to going back to school, which she has stopped attending.

The youngest daughter, who is seventeen, also had an out-of-wedlock child who was adopted through the child welfare unit of the Department of Social Services. She is currently looking for a job and wants to quit school.

The oldest boy, who is now sixteen, was sentenced to a state institution for three years for a serious crime, but was released after one year and is back in school. He wants to join the Marines and learn a trade while in the service. He is good with auto mechanics. This son acted the most sympathetically toward his mother. He seemed very conscious of his position as man of the house, and displayed a desire to take some of the weight of responsibility. He was offering to buy new tires for the car, himself.

Her youngest son, age five, is a very friendly preschooler. She is indulgent but sensitive with him. He represents a "Godsend" after the death of her daughter.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY Rating 3

They appear to be a very close family, despite all the problems. There is a mixed current of love and sympathy in the house, combined with restiveness. Although wanting to leave home, the children feel quite comfortable there and share their family with their friends.

Mrs. Y prepares dinner which she likes to have with the family together. Once in a while the children will cook a meal, but usually she does. The family has few other activities which they do together, except for watching t.v.

The children's reaction to their father's absence was one of relief. His drinking problem made them never know how he would be when he was home. They didn't want to bring their friends to the house when he was around.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS Rating 3

Mrs. Y has had no major health problems. Her daughter's bad eyesight is the only health problem regarding her children.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES Rating 4

The house itself faces a busy street where traffic is heavy and audible. There is no front lawn. One enters the house through a dark vestibule. In it are children's toys and possibly porch furniture which is cluttered, but covered. The living room is small and neat. Photographs of the children fill the walls. Two bedrooms adjoin the living room, also a television room. The house from the outside presents a shabby appearance, the inside, however, is well taken care of. The house is very clean. Things were not lavish, but well kept.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES Rating 5

Mrs. Y seems to organize her household tasks efficiently around taking care of her child care toddlers and the kind of "open house" atmosphere of the home where teenagers and adults are constantly coming and going. She plans her menus a week in advance and does her major shopping once a week. The children get incidentals as they are needed.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT Rating 5

Mrs. Y's father finished the 5th grade and worked as a telephone lineman. Sometimes he was unemployed when she was growing up. Her mother had an eighth grade education. Her parents were never separated and most of the time things seemed to be going well between them. Mrs. Y grew up on a small farm in Pennsylvania. She had an older and a younger sister. After the birth of her younger sister, her mother contracted polio. Mrs. Y had to quit school to take care of her mother and sister. When Mrs. Y's mother regained the use of her legs, Mrs. Y was "too much in love" to go back to school, and so got married instead. She never finished tenth grade. She hated school, and was not sorry to leave. Mrs. Y has always been able to get a good job, so has never regretted not finishing. Her sisters did not work until they left home. The older one works as a waitress, although she is married, and the younger one worked in a factory until she married. Mrs. Y is closest to her older sister, who lives near Ithaca. She sometimes talks over her problems with her. The rest of her family still lives in Pennsylvania. She visits with them over the holidays.

Currently she is friends with the mothers of the children she takes care of. She also keeps in touch woth four of her co-workers from a previous job. She said she had been going with a man who had been "transferred out of the area," and enjoyed going out once in a while. But "I don't think I could live with a man again. I have my own ways of doing things. The children confide in me. I couldn't take another man coming in and telling them differently." When she has spare time, Mrs. Y says she cleans house or washes clothes. She used to go bowling and is thinking now of attending some of her church's functions for single people.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT Rating 3

Mrs. Y cannot count on emergency financial assistance from any members of her family since they are too poor.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES Rating 5

Because of her separation and divorce and the problems she has had with her children, Mrs. Y has had fairly frequent contact with Family Court, the Probation Department, the school social worker and other school personnel, the Child Welfare Unit of the Department of Social Services and of course with the caseworkers from the Department.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY Rating 4

Mrs. Y is not a registered voter. She feels it doesn't make much difference who is in a position. "They'll probably do all right." Mrs. Y used to attend church and some of the church activities. She described the former pastor as a "wonderful minister." When her daughter was killed in 1964 he made several visits to her home and "he made friends with the whole family." He seemed to understand and be concerned with her and her children's problems. She said she was dependent upon him. He would give her advice. He left the church two years ago and since then she has lost interest in being involved in the church. Mrs. Y attends all the PTA meetings. She has done volunteer work in the past but is not involved in any at the present.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS Rating 4

Mrs. Y's case was first opened in December 1962 when her husband was laid off and there was no money for the family. After two months, the case was closed because Mr. Y found a job. The second opening was in March 1963 when Mrs. Y began to receive public assistance grant in the ADC category. Her husband was again laid off and then found work again after two months when the case was again closed. In January 1964, Mrs. Y reapplied for public assistance but was denied because the family was receiving unemployment insurance benefits. In October 1967, the Department paid back gas and electric bills and gave the family food vouchers because Mrs. Y was not working. The case was closed after three months because both Mr. and Mrs. Y were working. But the next month the case was reopened because Mr. Y was fired from his job and used the family income for drinking. This time their case remained open for seven months, until they both started working again. In December 1968 Mrs. Y reapplied for public assistance because her husband had left and was not sending her any support money. Their case remains open because Mrs. Y can not earn enough money to support her family with her present job as a day care mother. Her caseworker states, "Mrs. Y has very strong hopes and desires about being off assistance. Therefore she will always strive for this goal unless sometime in the future Mrs. Y finds this goal unattainable."

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENTS Rating 6

Mrs. Y does not think she could survive now without public assistance. Her caseworker, she described as young and understanding, "not like the old nasty ones they used to have." She feels she has always been treated fairly. The women who bring their children to her are also on welfare. They are also grateful for it.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES Rating 6

Mrs. Y seems to be a good manager. She is able to keep her bills paid although she never has enough money left over to put in a savings account. She said she had no particular money saving techniques but she watches the sales.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS Rating 6

Mrs. Y had never worked before her marriage. She took her first job as a lunch counter waitress following the birth of her first child in 1950. Her husband expected her to do this to help with the finances. Her mother-in-law or her next door neighbor cared for her daughter while she worked. Of all the people who took care of her children, Mrs. Y thinks her mother-in-law did the best job. After less than a year, a second pregnancy interrupted her work. She returned for four months after her next daughter was born, but "never worked again until all the children came." Her source of earnings during these five years was to care for others' children. She stated, "I don't know how I did it. I didn't have a washer or dryer in those days."

In 1957, after the birth of her last child, Mrs. Y returned to work as a waitress to "get out of the house." She said that she was glad to be working again, although she was extremely tired out by the double load of keeping a house and a job. In 1961 she quit this job to move to Ithaca. Here, she worked out of necessity. She worked at a cafeteria. She also worked part-time as a waitress in the evenings. "I say every job has it's own gripe. I like working with people, and meeting the public. I never thought about where I meet people. I keep in touch with four girls from the restaurant and two from where I used to live. Come to think of it, work is where you meet people." These two jobs terminated when she was six months pregnant with her youngest child.

Mrs. Y was unemployed for three years after the birth of her youngest son. It was during this period also that she was recovering from the grief and shock of losing her youngest daughter. Mrs. Y does not like to talk about this. Then in 1968 Mrs. Y began her present work as a day care mother at the suggestion of her caseworker. Mrs. Y cares for four to six children of welfare mothers in her home. She is paid by state funds through the Department of Social Services. These mothers start to bring their children at six a.m. and they have all arrived by ten. The children are young--one to two years. They stay in a play-pen or high chairs. She does housework in the morning,then fixes a lunch of soup and sandwiches. After lunch the children nap. Mrs. Y does washing while they nap. After naps she will read to them. The mothers come for them at five in the evening. Mrs. Y is very satisfied with her job as a day care mother, except that she has little opportunity to meet other adults, except for the parents who come to the house to leave or pick up their children. She also feels very tied down by the job because she can't get out of the house while she is caring for the children. She doesn't know if she will continue with her day work indefinitely, but right now sees no reason for not continuing.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES Rating 6

Mrs. Y had the most complaints about care for her children during the period after she moved to Ithaca. An aunt watched the children during the day when she could. Many times Mrs. Y had to hire baby sitters who were often teenagers. They were extremely unreliable.

They brought their boyfriends over, played havoc with her food budget by raiding the refrigerator and left the house in a mess. After a serious incident of neglect, Mrs. Y hired only older women. "But they charged twice as much. It wasn't paying me to work." Now day care is no problem because she is home with her young son while she is working.

Since Mrs. Y would like to be as self-supporting as possible she has strong motivation to do some kind of work. The lack of skills is no obstacle for Mrs. Y since she has no desire to return to school or have any kind of job training.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT   Rating 6

Mrs. Y says the ideal jobs for her are working as a waitress in a nice restaurant or being a day care mother. Most of her other jobs she disliked. Mrs. Y really likes to work. However, her main motivation is to support her family. She feels that the best way to obtain an income is to have a job, and the most important aspect of that job would be the salary. She feels that a paid job gives more prestige to a woman than being a housewife.

Mrs. Y is very attuned to and concerned with the problems of the mother who must work and raise a family. All her friends have to work. All share the problem of child care and its high cost and unreliability.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS   Rating 5

Mrs. Y will probably continue to work. Ideally she would like to earn enough to support her family but knows this is impossible as long as her older children are still home and her former husband is not send-support payments. Being a day care mother is an ideal arrangement for Mrs. Y while her son is still a pre-schooler. When he is in school it might be possible for her to consider being a "waitress in a nice restaurant" part-time.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING   Rating 4

Working outside the home is beneficial for Mrs. Y since it gives her opportunities to meet other adults. She misses these contacts since becoming a day care mother. The parents are always in a hurry when they are leaving or picking up their children so that communication is at a minimum. It is no problem for Mrs. Y to keep house in the same way as when she's not working since she is home all the time. While she is working, Mrs. Y feels that her children's behavior has improved. She feels that they think more of her when she is employed, but she is disappointed that they have not assumed more responsibility around the house.

IMPLICATION

Mrs. Y is an ambitious woman who is willing and able to work. Her day care work has been a good activity for her, bringing money which has to be supplemented by the Department. Her youngest boy will be going to school next year, but during his early years he has had the security of a mother at home and, since the divorce, a more stable family environment. It will be interesting to see how he turns out as he becomes a teenager.

The series of problems Mrs. Y has had with her teenagers have been very difficult for Mrs. Y. Here is a woman whose own children have not turned out very well, by society's standards, and yet she is now providing the loving attention babies need but is not a person who can deal with the older children. Of course, the total marital problem with a husband who was drinking may have contributed to the instability of the children.

After the youngest is in school, Mrs. Y could be expected to go back to work outside the home. This may actually be a loss to the community in facilities for day care.

This case again illustrates the theme common to so many of the studies; that early marriage, lack of information about family planning, too many children, an immature husband, all of these factors lead to instability in the family and low income. Perhaps as the children leave the home, and hopefully become self-supporting, Mrs. Y's income from a job would be sufficient for her needs and she could get off assistance if she wanted to.

It is revealing that Mrs. Y said that if she had known what she knows now about contraceptives she never would have had any children. And yet, her children are going ahead and having out-of-wedlock children. Perhaps this is evidence that parents are indeed not able to talk about these things with their own children. If this is so, and many middle class people admit it is true in their own lives, the need for this information in the neutral situation of the school is surely apparent.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. E AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 5

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 34
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 2 children
1 boy, 1 girl, aged 8 and 12

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on
No. of times case closed: 1
No. of years on welfare: 2 1/2

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: sporadic
Skills and training: no special training
Usual occupation: variety

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 57
No. of full-time jobs held: 4
No. of part-time jobs held: 4
Total no. of jobs held: 5
Longest period of employment: 19 mos.
Average job duration: 12 months
No. of months unemployed: 75
No. of periods of unemployment: 3
Longest period of unemployment: 66 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family + 4

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other
1953				Dep't. store clerk		grad. high school moved Ill.
1954		married		dress shop clerk		moved Ithaca
1955				dep't. store clerk		moved to Syracuse
1956						premature birth
1957				dress factory		moved to Ithaca
1958	child			stayed home		
1959				domestic		
1960				home, 5 years		
1962	child					
1964						varicose vein oper.
1965		divorced		grocery store clerk		
1966				office job, factory	case opened, and closed	moved to Illinois
1967				factory job		moved back to Ithaca
1968				dental assistand	case reopened until the present	Mrs. E discovered possibility of cancer
1969				lab assistant at a college to present		

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

Mrs. E was put in the sporadic worker category because she has had quite a few jobs over the eleven-year period interspersed by fairly long periods of being at home. The length of time she has worked on any one job has been short. This work pattern may not continue now that Mrs. E has more stability in her life and is in a job which has possibilities for promotion.

With a pleasant expressive face framed by short brown hair, Mrs. E is a good-looking young woman of thirty-four years. She is somewhat stocky but dresses becomingly. Mrs. E has a rather loud voice which she uses a good deal, but in a warm and responsive manner. She was married two years after graduating from high school. After a marriage of eleven years, Mrs. E was divorced in 1965; she has not remarried. The whole area of her relationships with men and of marrying a second time is something which troubles Mrs. E. She has a limited social life, although she is involved with a number of friends. Her world revolves around her work and family with occasional participation in the "singles" group. Mrs. E's parents live across the street from her and care for her two children, N, age 8, and M who is 12 years old. The children seem to be doing well and the family has a close and satisfying relationship.

Before and right after she was married, Mrs. E worked in department stores and in a local dress factory until M was born in 1958. In order that she might spend most of her time at home with her baby and in redecorating her home, Mrs. E worked for only a short time a few days a week doing housecleaning. She remained at home until her divorce in 1965 while N was a baby. Then she worked for about a year at a local supermarket until she moved to Illinois to live with her aunt and uncle who cared for the children while she worked as a secretary in a factory. But her children were unhappy, so after a year she moved back to Ithaca and found employment at Smith-Corona. Mrs. E was very unhappy with the kind of job she had and the working conditions. So after a few months she quit and stayed home for about six months, trying to get herself together after this unfortunate experience. Then she worked as a dental assistant for almost a year but although she liked what she was doing, the pressures and low pay made her decide to leave. She soon found her present job at Cornell where she is working in a lab. Because she does not earn enough to support herself and her children, Mrs. E has been receiving partial assistance since 1968.

Mrs. E enjoys interior decorating and has used this skill to make her home attractive and functional. She manages her home and her family life with a minimum of friction and disorganization and a maximum of efficiency and concern. As a person, Mrs. E is ambitious and competent, determined to provide the best living possible for herself and her children. She would like job training to help her in this direction. She is a friendly and accepting person of others, but inclined to be introspective and hesitant about commiting herself to deep human relationships. Mrs. E prefers not to dwell either on the past or the future but rather to do the very best she can with what life brings her way or with the opportunities she can create for herself.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 5

Mrs. E seems to be a very sensitive and thoughtful person. Her divorce has made her very aware of herself. Mrs. E describes herself as being ambitious and anxious to find out just "how far" she can go. Although she prides herself on her interior decorating abilities, she seems to have turned to work as a major area for proving herself. "I enjoy seeing what I can do on my own when working." Mrs. E has this kind of motivation because she realizes that she is perhaps more competent than some people. She rates herself as good at organizing others and efficient at getting things done. Learning new things comes easily to Mrs. E when she compares herself to others.

When describing the negative qualities she sees in herself, Mrs. E says she has difficulty in speaking her mind to those in authority and tends to blame herself when things go wrong. Mrs. E somehow feels that she is hemmed-in and not at peace with herself. "A very important problem in my life is being free to do what I want." A sense of general well-being and happiness is lacking in her life but she is unable to evaluate why this is true.

When asked what words she thought her friends would use to describe her, she said, "Well, A would say I'm right to the point, which means I'm organized; B says, I'm too strict with myself; C says, I don't smile enough; D would say, I'm the life of the party when I'm with the crowd."

This sense of unhappiness doesn't seem to interfere with her basic stability as a person or her ability to manage her various responsibilities and roles extremely well. It may be that what is missing for Mrs. E is more of an on-going life of her own outside of her family and work. In this kind of involvement, she could find fulfillment and add to her developing sense of self-esteem.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 6

Being a reflective person, Mrs. E has discovered that her way of bringing about changes in her life and having some sense of controlling her own destiny is through daily periods of introspection and planning and evaluation of what has been happening. Mrs. E thinks that "everybody should have a little electric switch so that they could just shut out all the things competing for attention in their thoughts, and just be by themselves for a few minutes." She feels that her time alone in the evening is very important to her. In the summer, she finds it hard to find privacy because the children are allowed to stay up later. "It's not as mentally restful when there is no alone time." When she is upstairs in her bedroom, she regards this as one area of privacy and tries to get the children to respect it as such. She jokingly adds, "N now has made certain off-limits to me in the name of privacy."

The worst time in Mrs. E 's life was her teenage years. "When I look at younger people, I'd never like to be like that again. I'd never like to live my life over again...being a teenager was terrible. I was very heavy until my senior year in high school, so everything was twice as bad." Mrs. E described her period in Illinois soon after her divorce as a very meaningful period in her life, a time when she discovered what she was "capable of doing and being," found self-confidence and inner security.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

Mrs. E was reluctant to give information about her husband or talk about her marriage except to say that she was glad it was over. She does not depend upon her husband for support payments and evidently has little contact with him since he seldom visits the children.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 3

Mrs. E says that she's not really sure whether or not she wants to remarry. She just doesn't have any sort of idea what kind of person she would want for a mate. She only knows that she wants to have the same feeling that she had when she fell in love as a younger girl with her husband. She worries not only about whether or not she should remarry but also whether she will ever have the opportunity. When people keep asking her about having a boyfriend, she says she wonders why she doesn't have one, "that bothers me a little bit - especially when you have a run of that, you get thinking - what's wrong with me - oh, really deep thoughts - could you do it if you -- I don't allow anybody to get really close enough or get to know the individual on a serious basis. I don't know if it's fright or what. My mother says I'm still in love with my husband. I'm not, I got over that; but once you've been married to a man it's extremely difficult to picture yourself with someone else - it almost seems immoral."

She is finding that the role of divorced woman does not have clear prescriptions for conduct with men and she is not sure how she feels. "Young adults have such a different outlook on sex and marriage than when I was growing up. It's very difficult to fit yourself into which standard you're going to live. Many people believe in freer love. I know at least six students who are living with girls. I don't really know if I could do that - I couldn't do it anyway, with the kids."

Mrs. E clearly recognizes her own ambivalence on the subject. "All my girlfriends that I tend to become close to are generally on the permissive side; it's the strangest thing. I keep asking myself why do I like her? But I think it's because she's got the guts to do it and I haven't." One obstacle to her developing closer relationships to men seems to be based on her fear of acting like a "streetwalker." "I know other people do it. I could not live with myself if I did this. My friends are always giving me heck about being so standoffish. I'm not used to being the pursuer, what's the sense. They say, 'you're crazy, you've got to, how's a man going to know you're interested,' but how do you reverse a pattern you've made over thirty years? It's extremely difficult. I don't know, I just live from one day to the next, and when my kids get grown, I'll figure out what to do from there."

Mrs. E is clearly worried about spending the rest of her life in emotional isolation. When asked how she thought things would be going for her five years from now, she answered, "I'll be alone much more than I am now. M will be off doing something and N will be wanting to. That is when I'll get the taste of what it's going to be like. I sort of think I'll change a little as I get older. I think I'll be able to be freer with my time, or maybe by then though I'll be too set in my ways to do anything."

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 6

Mrs. E certainly accepts her maternal role and finds a great deal of satisfaction from it. "Being a good mother to my two kids means more to me than anything else." She is a conscientious mother, trying to understand her children as individuals and learning all she can about how children grow and behave. Mrs. E clearly communicates the affection, pride and concern she feels to her children.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. E seems to be a concerned and competent mother who enjoys being with her children. She described her methods of discipline as "set limits so the kids know what they can and can't do. Then if they go outside the limits, their punishment should be appropriate to what they did wrong." Generally she seems to feel that children and parents should respect each other. "When I'm in a bad mood some days, I warn them, 'watch out, I'm in a lousy mood.' Sometimes I don't even have the courtesy to tell them." She says the last time she blew up, she apologized for being grumpy the following morning. And when the children are grumpy, she is aware of this when dealing with them. She often worries whether or not she's saying too many critical things to the children and not praising them enough. "I don't want to harm their little egos." Except for wanting her children to go to college, Mrs. E was hesitant to define what she hoped for her children in the future. She said when they were older, they would decide what was best for them.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

Mrs. E thinks that on the whole, M and N are happy children and she is pleased about how they have developed their personalities and their relationships with people. N, her eight year old daughter, seems to have many of the qualities that Mrs. E says she wishes she had more of. She says that N has a great deal of "inner security" and is very determined and assertive. She tells of how when a little boy hit N, she waited for him outside his house for a half-hour just so she could punch him back when he came out again. N is outgoing and has lots of friends. Mrs. E hopes that N doesn't marry until she is twenty-five, if possible, but she suspects that she'll marry young anyway. N is already interested in boys and clothes and says she wants to be "groovy." When Mrs. E told her that she would "have to be a lady first," her daughter corrected her,saying that "groovy people aren't ladies, Mommy."

Mrs. E feels her son has suffered the most from the divorce. Because M is the only boy, and the oldest, he is beginning to feel like the "man of the house." She says she's worried about this, "He's too young, but I don't know how you avoid it in a one-parent household." She says he is a real "worrier." He prefers that she doesn't go out of town, and when she does always warns her to drive carefully. She says M is tough on the outside but very warm and sensitive on the inside and a bit shy." M prides himself on drinking tea, because he regards it as the proper "Scottish" thing to do - his father's side of the family is from Scotland. M is "mad about cars" and all of the books he brings home from the library are on that subject. He has also been interested in drawing since he was little, and she has tried to nurture this by buying him poster paper and pencils. She proudly posts a number of his drawings around the walls of the house. Both children are doing well in school.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 6

Mrs. E is quite satisfied with the amount of time she spends with her children. The children usually help Mrs. E get the dinner. She says that this is one part of the day when they are together, and sharing. M and N both like to cook, and take turns making dessert or refrigerator rolls or something special for dinner. Mrs. E said she decided to learn how to skate so she could join in with her children. They go together to the family activities of a "singles" group.

Mrs. E is unsure what would be the reaction of her children to a new father. She says they "want it but don't", explaining this by saying that she was sure that if the new father tried to discipline the children, they would say, "You're not my father."

Mrs. E feels that her children think very highly of her. There is a close feeling among the three members of the E family.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 5

Mrs. E had one premature birth in 1956. She has varicose veins and had an operation on them in 1964. She also has sinus trouble; but the overriding health problem for her now is a possibility of cancer. She did not want to talk about this. N has a heart murmur.

HEALTH PRACTICES rating 7

Mrs. E is conscientious about having regular checkups for all of them.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 7

Before she moved into her current apartment, Mrs. E went in a few weeks ahead of time and refinished all of the floors and woodwork, staining and waxing. She painted all of the walls, made all the curtains and even sewed a 9 x 12 rug out of scraps of material. She also made furniture, the counters in her kitchen, the end tables, and a spool bed for her daughter. She even put in paneling in her son's room. Inside, the house is very cozy, clean, and shows that a lot of thought has gone into the arrangement of the furniture and other things inside the house for decorative purposes. The apartment itself is quite spacious with three rooms downstairs and three rooms upstairs. Mrs. E said it was unfit to live in when she first rented it. Recently her rent was raised, but she bargained with the landlord and they reached an agreement to keep it the same rate in return for her taking the garbage out, shoveling the walks, and mowing lawns.

The neighborhood is centrally located in Ithaca and beginning to show signs of deterioration. Mrs. E would eventually like to buy her own home through a local housing organization.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 7

Mrs. E sees homemaking as an art and runs her home in this manner. She keeps her place clean and orderly and takes care of the other housekeeping details with a minimum of strain.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 7

Mrs. E's father and mother live just across the street, and are always coming in and out, although she says she has only been across the street to see them six times this year. She has a grandmother who lives nearby whom she enjoys, but rarely sees. She feels that her closest relatives are the aunt and uncle in Illinois whom she lived with right after her divorce. Mrs. E's mother and father lived together while she was growing up and according to her they had a rather harmonious relationship. Mrs. E and the children feel close to her parents but she makes sure that they understand her need for privacy and independence.

She still sees her in-laws, mostly for the sake of the children, but also because she doesn't hold anything against them for the divorce. "After all, they are the children's grandparents."

Mrs. E says that most of her friends are either single or divorced, and all of them work. She made a point of saying that she does not visit or keep up relationships with any old friends who are married and knew her before her divorce. She also finds it quite difficult to visit friends who were divorced and have since remarried. She feels part of the reason is because of the pressure she feels to remarry. "Everybody's at me - how come you're not married or how come you're not going steady - how come you haven't found a man yet - it gets to you after a while."

On the whole, Mrs. E has a lot of people she calls friends, but few with whom she feels very close. Although Mrs. E regards her co-workers at her current job as friends, she does not feel that she would like to say, "Hey, let's do something tonight," with any of them. She used to call the people she worked with in her previous job, but most of them are married with families and she just feels that since her divorce they have different interests, too.

"Nobody can deny that it gets lonely when there aren't other adults whom you can talk to." She said that was one reason why she was so interested in her "singles" group. She says she has found people call her up just to talk, and she feels that she has a few friends with whom she can do the same; but Mrs. E states that generally she doesn't enjoy visiting other people although she likes to have them visit with her. "I don't go that many places, usually only where I think the kids will have a good time."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 6

Although her parents only have a moderate income, they have been able to help Mrs. E financially since her divorce. At times she has lived with them for brief periods when they supported her totally. But most of the time their contribution is in the form of meals, child care, and occasional loans.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

In addition to her involvement in schools and the Department of Social Services, Mrs. E has turned to a local organization to try to help her buy a house.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 6

Mrs. E goes to church fairly often. She is active in a "singles" group. For awhile when her son was smaller, she was a den mother. Mrs. E feels someday she would like to be more active in community affairs but right now "it takes all my time and energy to take care of me and mine."

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 6

Mrs. E's case was opened in November 1966 when she needed money for food and for an apartment. After being open for two months, her case was closed. It was re-opened in October 1968 and has not been closed since then because Mrs. E does not make enough money to support her children. Mrs. E's mother received assistance in the past. She was quite reluctant to say that she was getting assistance, and finally said, "I get help, it galls me to no end, but I get it. I dislike it but I've got no choice. If I'm going to live and raise my kids, I can't do it on what I make. She says that welfare has never given her any trouble, and did not push her to work, though she adds that maybe she gets along so well "because they know I'm working and trying to get off." She says that she finds medicaid a "Godsend" since her children were sick the winter of 1968-69.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mrs. E does not agree that a woman drawing welfare payments should stay on welfare if she cannot earn a significant amount more money by working. She knows other women who are on public assistance and wonders why they aren't working hard to get themselves off like she is. "Maybe there are problems I don't know about but I don't see how they can just accept money and not do anything."

She hates being a welfare recipient but appreciates having assistance available "for those who really need it." Mrs. E anticipates that she will be free from this "welfare stigma," as she put it, in a year or so when she can get a promotion or better paying job at Cornell.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 7

Finances are a very important problem for Mrs. E ; but like most other things in her life, she manages well.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 4

Mrs. E worked part-time after school in 1952 as a nursing home aide. Before she took the job, she had thought of being a nurse but after seeing so many old and helpless people dying, she decided she wasn't the type. She finally quit because she found the job so depressing. In 1953, she graduated from high school and went to Illinois for a year to live with her favorite aunt and uncle. She found a job as a salesgirl in a department store. The next year she returned to Ithaca and found a job as a salesgirl in a dress shop by looking through the newspaper. She worked at this job for about a year until her boyfriend got out of the service. They got married in 1954, and moved to Syracuse. In Syracuse, she found another job in a department store and worked there for about three months until she started getting sick from being pregnant. She then stayed home for four months, most of the time feeling sick, and the rest of the time fixing up their apartment. She delivered prematurely and the baby died after five hours. She did not feel up to working for the next few months.

In 1957, after staying in Syracuse for about a year and a half, they moved back to Ithaca. Their new apartment was directly behind a small factory, and because it was so convenient, she decided to take a job there operating a sewing machine. She said she knew how to sew ahead of time but there wasn't much training involved anyhow. She worked there for about two years. She left the week before she had her oldest child, M, in May, 1958. Mrs. E stayed at home for about a year while M was an infant. A few months after she and her husband bought an old house that needed fixing up, he encouraged her to go back to work part-time so that they could "do more" about the house. She said she didn't really bother looking for anything besides housecleaning, because she had heard from friends that there just wasn't anything around that was part-time, and also she said she just didn't have the confidence to try to look for something like an office job. When she mentioned that she had taken a housecleaning job, Mrs. E said, "gee, you never know what sort of jobs you've had," which had a bit of an apologetic or embarrassed tone. She stayed at this job for about four months.

From 1960 to 1965, Mrs. E was primarily at home with her children decorating her new home and doing lots of arts and crafts kinds of projects as a hobby. She did not return to work until she got a divorce from her husband in 1965. After moving out of the house, she took a part-time cashier's job at a grocery store. She worked there for about a year. She says that she really doesn't remember all that much about that period of time, since everything in her personal life was in such a state of turmoil.

After a year in Ithaca, she decided to move to Illinois in 1966 back with her aunt and uncle. She says that this was the greatest, most meaningful turning point in her life. It was the first time she said that she finally got a chance to know herself and become self-confident. This was also the first time that she managed to "look for something better because I felt capable of more." She found an office job in a factory. After being there a few months, she heard about another job opening in the company which had higher pay and more responsibility. She even had enough confidence to ask her boss for the job and got it.

Mrs. E's aunt was taking care of the children since she had no children of her own. She doted on the little girl who was named after her. M, on the other hand, could do nothing right, and was very unhappy living there. When Mrs. E took a vacation in Ithaca that following summer, the children wanted to stay in Ithaca so that they could be with their grandparents. Mrs. E felt that she couldn't refuse them. Although she liked living in Illinois better, it wouldn't be fair of her to deprive her children of their grandparents. When she decided to leave her job, she felt very guilty and irresponsible about the whole thing, and wrote her boss a long letter explaining the situation. Mrs. E was relieved when he wrote her a letter which was very sympathetic and told her that any time she came back, she could always have a job in that department. Her return to Ithaca in 1967 has not been a particularly happy one. She referred to Ithaca as "my stumbling block." She said, "maybe it's because I was brought up here or maybe it's because there are so many college people around and they make me feel inferior or something, but in Illinois, I felt good and like something, and Ithaca, well...." During this time period she obtained the worst job she had ever had. She was working in a time-and-scheduling office at a nearby factory. The job wasn't particularly interesting and was very demanding. On top of that, she didn't get along at all well with her boss. After a few months, her boss tried to add more work to her job and she decided that she was going to stand up to him and tell him that she was unhappy and the whole situation was bad for her. At this point, she was offered the choice of voluntarily quitting or being fired. "I decided to be fired so that I could collect unemployment insurance."

Mrs. E says that after that it took her at least six months for her to recover her self-confidence. She looked through the newspapers and finally located another job as an assistant to a local dentist. She really enjoyed this job and worked there up until the summer of 1969. Initially, she was responsible for taking all of the X-rays, which she didn't find particularly interesting because it was just doing the same thing over and over. She admired her boss because of his professionalism and concern for detail, although she said that he wasn't all that easy to get along with. There were a number of problems with the job. One was that there was a great deal of work, particularly for her, because there were younger girls who were always coming and going. She would complete their chores. She finally decided that the pressure was just too much; besides, the wages weren't as good as they might have been. When she gave notice, her boss offered her a raise if she would stay.

But there was an underlying cause which took precedence over everything as a reason for leaving. She learned that summer that she might have cancer and that her future was uncertain. At the time she didn't have any life insurance and she was very concerned for her children. She knew that Cornell had very good benefits for their employees and decided that it would be worth it to leave her current job and take just about anything at Cornell, although she did hold out for a job in the Vet school, because she had heard that of all the schools, that was where the people were nice and easy to get along with, which has turned out to be true. She started her current job in 1969. She works as a lab assistant. Currently she doesn't like what she is doing very much but she has hopes that there is room for advancement. She told her boss that she does a lot better on things when she has more responsibility. He misunderstood her and said, "Oh, I will give you more work soon;" and she said, "not work, but responsibility." Her current job mostly involves washing and autoclaving the glasses that they use for their tests.

Her father is a painter and finisher. Her mother never worked until the last few years when she started doing housecleaning two days a week. She only has one brother and he is working locally.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 7

Mrs. E finished high school and has often thought about going back to night school and taking courses. But she said the combination of money, time, and children just makes it impossible. She is very glad that she took the commercial course in high school because she learned typing and bockkeeping. One thing she likes about this new Cornell job is that they have an arrangement for employees to take courses if it's related to their job. She hopes that she can take advantage of these courses.

Someone in her family has always watched her children while Mrs. E works - her aunt in Illinois and her mother here. Every morning after she goes to work, her children go over to her mother's house. The children seem to enjoy going to their grandparents. They go there every day after school also.

Mrs. E's suggestions for governmental assistance to working mothers is, "I think the government should set up vocational training centers especially for women who have to work to support their families. Nine times out of ten they need more training so they can get ahead. They need to make enough money to live on so they won't have to ask for public assistance."

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

Mrs. E calls herself a "firm believer" in women working. She says staying home proved to her "a woman can feel very worthless at home all the time." She doesn't think women should work while the child is still a baby because "it must be terrible not to hear them say their first word, or walk the first time." If possible, she thinks it would be ideal to stay at home for the first two years. "After that it's not so tough. Actually the experts say you should wait until your children are in school, but if you have more than one, you're waiting a very long time before you can work." Mrs. E feels that work can be an important and positive factor in a woman's attitude towards herself. When she's at home full time, she's not as likely to "keep her own personal self as nice" and doesn't "value herself unless she's got an ideal husband who'll say how great she is and what a good job she's doing keeping the house looking nice." Mrs. E seems to find this sort of praise for accomplishment through her work. She says that her present boss would describe her as being "very organized; never lets anything slide; does what has to be done; tries to be as helpful as she can; friendly; gets along well with other people; ambitious." Mrs. E prefers the challenge of a new job rather than remaining employed in a place where all is familiar.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 7

Mrs. E says she took her job at Cornell because it was an available job, but she "can't stay in one position. I have to keep going up - how I'm going to do it, I don't know other than just experience, keeping your eyes and ears open and learning all you can. It's a personal thing, I just want to see how far I can get myself, I guess, after being nothing for so long - and now I figure I have to better myself financially speaking, so I also think I have to intellectually better myself, and since I don't have the time, money or energy to do it in school, I've go to do it on a day-to-day basis."

If she could have her ideal job, it would be to be an interior decorator. She says that she has always wanted to be an interior decorator. She has spent a great deal of time in all of the places she has lived in just fixing them up. Mrs. E likes to be a secretary, lab technician or dental technician.

Mrs. E wishes there were plans so that women who are responsible for supporting their family could go back to school to learn a new vocation and still get money from the government or industries or companies to live on. In this way, they could better themselves and stay off welfare.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 5

The effects of working on Mrs. E have all been positive. She has found herself as a person and has the self-confidence now that she can make it on her own. Working has broadened her social contacts also, although Mrs. E still finds it difficult to relate to others in depth.

Being employed has had a very positive effect on family life, according to Mrs. E, because all the members must learn to manage their time and work much better than when the mother is home all the time. The only negative effect working has on her children is how they are doing in school. But she feels this is something she can handle by working closely with their teachers. Mrs. E is so skillfully organized as a homemaker that being gone during the day has no negative effects on managing her home.

IMPLICATIONS

Barring the possibility of her having cancer, Mrs. E will probably continue to work at Cornell, advancing in her present job or finding one with higher pay. It would be ideal if she could attend the local community college to receive whatever specialized training she might like, but she only could do this if she received full assistance from the Department of Social Services. Mrs. E does not really need any other kind of help or guidance in order for her to work to her fullest potential or to function well in her home or with her children. Mrs. E will probably develop more stable work patterns now that she has solved some of her problems and is growing in self-confidence and competency to handle her own life. Leaving her husband has clarified her situation and helped make her independent. She knows she can make it on her own and can depend on herself now. Mrs. E accepted the challenge of becoming able to make decisions on what was best for her and her family even if this has meant having a sporadic employment record. When the pressure of her job as a dental assistant was too much for her, she left it. She stayed only a short time at her office job in a local factory because she was extremely unhappy with her supervisor and with the working conditions. Mrs. E felt it was destructive to her as a person to continue working under these circumstances. Mrs. E felt the happiness of her children was more important to her than her own well-being when she made the decision to move back to Ithaca from Illinois. Even though she preferred living in the latter state and really liked her job, the children wanted to live near their grandparents and were unhappy with their aunt and uncle. The parents of Mrs. E have made an important difference in the way she has been able to function since leaving her husband. She has frequently turned to them when she needed money, a place to live and help in her home. They have continuously provided emotional support and care for the children while she works. Mrs. E has not had to worry about the kind of care her children were receiving and about constantly having to change her arrangements for her children before and after school.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. C AND HER FAMILY

I DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 1

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 41
Education: 13
Race or ethnic background: black
Children and age: 12 children

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 2
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: 10th grade
Husband's work status: employed
Husband's usual occupation: cook

WELFARE (Jan.1960-Dec.1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed: none
No. of years on welfare: 6

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec.1970)

Current status: working
Work typology: sporadic
Skills and training: community aide
Usual occupation: health care jobs
The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 81
No. of full-time jobs held: 6
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: 6
Longest period of employment:
Average job duration: 12 months
No. of months unemployed: 51
No. of periods of unemployment: 4
Longest period of unemployment: 29 mos.

**Chronology showing important changes +3

Year	Birth dates	Marital	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare	Other
1946		Mr. C wed 1st time		hospital aide		
1947	child	Mrs. C wed 1st time	steady work history as cook and maintenance man, but dates not known			
1948	child			at home		
1949	miscarriage	Mr. C separated				
1950	child			dishwasher		
1951	child			not work for several years		moved to country
1952	miscarriage	divorce date (Mr. C) unknown				
1953	child					
1955	child					
1956	child	Mrs. C separated				
1957	child	Mrs. C common law relationship		aide, private psychiatric hosp. til 1960		moved to eastern city
1959	child					
1960	child					back to Ithaca
1961		com. law rel. ended				
1962				nurs. home aide		
1963		com. law, Mr. C			case opened	
1964	child			rehabilitation home aide, 3 yrs.		
1965	child					
1967				spec. training school aide		youngest son killed
1969		wed Mr. C	2 jobs as cook, 1 as janitor	school aide	case closed	
1970				nurs. home job as well as other		

Her former case worker evaluates Mrs. C as a person in these words: "Mrs. C is an extremely stable woman in most matters. Working seems to provide a great deal of satisfaction to Mrs. C Along with the satisfaction goes the definite respect of her children. The respect of others is very important to Mrs. C and she thrives on it. Mrs. C is a woman with extremely high motivation. She had not held herself back but rather has pushed herself forward at every opportunity."

Mrs. C has high self-esteem. Her image of herself as a person is very positive. Mrs. C is an energetic lively woman with a good sense of humor and intellect. She is a sensitive friendly person with a keen understanding of how others are feeling. Mrs. C has extremely sensible viewpoints on things, as well as having confidence enough to believe in her opinions.

For adjectives to describe her, Mrs. C said that her friends might call her a clown; her children and husband might use a similar adjective. She couldn't think of any others. Her conception of being feminine means wearing lipstick, looking nice, dressing well, the ability to have children, being desirable to a man. She thinks that she fits that description.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 7

Mrs. C said that it is hard to know how things will be five years from now. She has a strong belief in God and said that one might now be able to see the reasons behind something but "they are there." But this is a broad belief and does not interfere with her initiative and aggressiveness in handling situations. She certainly believes in getting out and helping herself and feels that things can be done to better one's situation.

The worst time for both Mr. and Mrs. C was when their small son was killed in an accident. For Mr. C the best time in his life is right now. He says that if he can figure out what he is doing wrong and correct it then he can control the events in his life to some degree.

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 5

Even though Mrs. C nas a fairly steady work history, she is considered as a sporadic worker because over the last 11 years she has had 6 different jobs and 4 periods of unemployment.

Mrs. C is a 41 year old woman with 12 children. She was separated from her first husband after 5 children, had 5 more children and now is recently married to the father of her last two. The next to youngest was recently killed in an accident.

Mrs. C has tremendous drive and a great deal of ability. She has been able to take advantage of training programs and to get jobs in hospitals where she has had some amount of status. She has had to accept welfare in spite of working, and at one point fought the welfare Social Service Department through a fair hearing to get money to pay for driving lessons so she could take her present higher level job, as a community aide. Since her marriage her assistance has been cut off. Mrs. C's drive has not extended to her four oldest daughters who are now out of the home, some on welfare and one with 4 OW children.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 6

Mrs. C seems to be an extremely capable and reliable person who has withstood successfully periods of instability in her life. Not only has she coped, but has pulled herself up to a position of respect in the community through personal endurance, and her own efforts at achieving occupational mobility. Her recent marriage may add another dimension to her respectability. Her personal success was achieved through her own efforts.

Mrs. C feels that women are entitled to their own life and achievements and disagrees that they should find respect through the accomplishments of their husband and children.

Mrs. C feels she is very organized and efficient. She is very ambitious for herself and with lots of determination displaying an abundance of initiative.

Mr. C said that if he could do it all over again he would stay in the service for 20 years instead of working like he has, (he left school after the 10th grade to join the service).

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mrs. C married her first husband in 1947 when she was 19. They were separated in 1956 after having 5 children. Mrs. C left her first husband because "he was running around with other women". She found it difficult to leave him but was glad when she did because it was a very unhappy marriage. Her first husband has come to visit his children only a few times since the separation.

Mrs. C had 5 more children between her 2 marriages but the fathers are unknown.

Mr. and Mrs. C lived in a common-law relationship since 1963 and were married in 1969. During this time they had 2 children.

Mr. C is a bright alert individual who wants to get ahead financially and stay there for a while. He is ambitious as is evidenced by the fact that he now holds three jobs. Mr. C is very self confident and sure that someday soon he will own his own home and be able to take it a little easier. He still has hopes of being able to take some courses in cooking. He is very concerned with details and is very conscienous about his jobs and his responsibilities as a father and a husband.

Mr. C thinks his friends would describe him as a normal person-loud and frank and that his wife simply loves him. She says that he is emotional and sensitive.

Mr. C's mother worked as a domestic for 25 years to support her family since they were separated when he was 3 years old. She liked her work for at the age of 80 she is still working part time. However, Mr. C felt that while she worked he felt like someone else's child and that this bothered him very much.

Mr. C was married for 3 years many years ago. He had two sons by this first marriage who are now grown. He used to have to pay child support but has not had to do this for the last 4 years. He describes himself as being immature and "too much like a kid" during those three years.

After this unstable period in his life, Mr. C has had a work history of steady employment. Most of his jobs have been as a maintenance man and a cook. At present Mr. C has 3 different jobs; two as cooks and one as a helper a few hours each week at one of the schools. He likes working with the children. He prefers his present jobs over his others because of better conditions and pay and also because he feels he is doing something of value for himself and his community.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 6

According to her former caseworker, "Mr. and Mrs. C appear to have a very stable and adequate marriage in most respects. The only difficulty might be that Mrs. C appears to take the position of head of the household, perhaps to the dismay of Mr. C."

Although they lived together for several years, the C's still have a number of things to work out in their relationship. It seems that Mr. C is the one making the most adjustments in trying to fit into the larger family pattern. Generally Mrs. C is accustomed to being the only boss and earner in the household, and it seems unlikely that her attitudes towards herself or working are likely to change as a result of her marriage.

Mrs. C did not give the impression that she gives in to her husband's point of view as a matter of course. She made it clear that she can argue quite well and I think that she would probably outlast her husband. She said that sometimes he just walks out, so maybe sometimes she wins by default. Most of the time when they argue, they argue over the money situation.

For examples of things that they disagree about, she mentioned his habits that stem from having had someone pick up his clothes and dishes-he gives Mrs. C little or no help in this area. She also said that he goes upstairs in the bedroom to watch TV in the evenings and expects her to be with him, but she just can't because she wants to be with the kids and of course has to clean, etc. He never takes her out. She resents his pool-playing somewhat. He also expects her to fix his meals at irregular times of the day. She said that her mother didn't think she should get married again, and she drops little comments, but Mr. C just ignores them. So it seems that many of their disagreements have to do with his adjusting to the fact that she is a mother as well as his wife.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 5

Mrs. C has had 12 children altogether ranging in age from 4 to early twenties, 11 of which are living. She definitely doesn't want anymore-"I told my husband that if I got pregnant we'll be awfully rich because I'll sue the pill company". She didn't say how many kids she would have wanted if she could start over, but that it would definitely be less. Mrs. C said the main reason for wanting less is financial. Adequate birth control information might have eased some of her strain during her earlier years.

As far as her role as mother, Mrs. C's remarriage has created perhaps a little tension but no real changes yet. Because of the seven children still at home with 4 living on their own she sees her new marriage as a basic continuation of her role as mother. The latter is the role that she's most involved in, although working is an extremely important and valuable part of her life. She does not seem to feel tension between breadwinner and mother.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 5

Mrs. C's relationship to her children seems very warm and understanding and solicitous -- she knows what they are doing, takes an interest in them, teaches them, and spends time with them. Her children seem fond of her. She rarely yells at them or speaks in a condescending tone of voice.

Mrs. C has more say in disciplining the children than Mr. C. Mrs. C said that she and her husband try to agree on disciplining the children although she expressed some doubt about his ability to do it well. She said that he uses the wrong tone of voice and will discipline well-meaningly but inappropriately. She said that he isn't used to being a daddy.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

The C 's former caseworker states, "None of the children appear to have any serious problems." One daughter has gone to special classes and one boy who was spoiled by his grandmother is now readjusting.

Mrs. C said that her children are all doing okay in school. She doesn't think that any of them have definite plans for the future, although she thinks that some of her children might go into music because they enjoy it and are good at it. She firmly believes in the advances that education can give one. Mrs. C said that she knows she won't be able to send them to college but hopes they will do well enough to get a scholarship. She said that she would hope things would be different for her daughters than for her. "I don't want any of them scrubbing anyone's floors". She said that she wouldn't and doesn't believe in pushing them into a particular area, but they should get education.

Mrs. C feels that in a sense her four oldest daughters are worse off then she was when she was their age and she seems disappointed at their level of functioning. This is because they have children much younger than she did. Her oldest daughter, who only finished ninth grade, has four children and worked as a waitress until she was laid off, so she is now on welfare but looking for another job. The second daughter was working at a factory but quit because the work was too hard. Mrs. C said that she has the skills to get a better job but hasn't yet. The third daughter also works at the same factory which Mrs. C can't understand because she can type and could get a better job. The fourth is married and just stopped working because she couldn't find someone to care for her baby. Mrs. C said that this latter one is the only older daughter with her type of initiative as far as training goes. She was thinking of being a nurse but hasn't yet. She wouldn't come out and say that her daughters lack her initiative. Mrs. C is likely to have continuing responsibilities to her daughters, though they should not have too great an effect on her work status.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY **rating 4**

Because the C's were just recently married, their relationship is effecting the cohesiveness of the family. It seems that Mr. C is having to recognize his wife's responsibility as mother as well as a wife. Not that he does not feel responsibility or is not a good father, but at this point he is still adjusting to that role. She said that he tries and does get along with the children.

Mr. C said that he thought the children might not like his temper and roughness at times but aside from this they seem to love him very much. Mrs. C said that it was hard for the children to get used to having a stepfather, but Mr. C feels the main family problem at the present is that neither he nor his wife are home for close supervision of the children. Except for him, the family eats regular meals together.

Their main strength as a family is their closeness they are beginning to build. As a family they go to church, sing in the choir, go on picnics and spend time on the lake in the summer.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 6

The family does not have any health problems.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 3

The living conditions of Mrs. C and her family are quite good. She and her husband are attempting to buy the 8 room home they are living in, which is a small house similar to the others on the block and seems to be in no obvious ways in poor physical condition.

Mrs. C's home looks very well kept up on the inside as well as the outside.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 4

Keeping her house, is somewhat of a problem for Mrs. C. She is unable to finish her housework each day so that the accumulation of all that needs to be done is a burden for her. She feels that she cannot keep her house clean and neat but is able to serve good meals and have the family clothing ready to wear. Mr. C helps his wife with the housework quite a good deal. The older children also help when pressured into it.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 7

Mrs. C's father finished the second grade. As a truck driver, he was employed part of the time but was rarely with the family. He and her mother did not get along well at all.

Mrs.C 's mother finished 6th grade. She worked all the time Mrs. C was growing up, doing housework for others. Mrs. C was boarded out when she was young because her mother had to work. They weren't on welfare. Her mother was always a cook-housekeeper and lived with the families she worked for, and they didn't really have a home of their own. Mrs. C's one brother died at birth.

Her supportive interpersonal network consists mostly of her family and mother. She has many acquaintances and casual friends, but she did not mention any close friendships that she has either with female friends or with couples. She and her husband don't really interact with other couples in social situations.

Once in a while Mr. C will see some lifetime friends in addition to his family and fellow workers. They usually shoot pool, drink and talk when they get together. If he can, Mr. C likes to slip in on the weekends and when he is by himself he likes to go mini-biking,hiking, hunting, fishing, and to do a little sculpting and gun smithing.

If she has time Mrs. C likes to sew or knit, and some evenings the children and she sing. She loves music and takes informal organ lessons at the church and sings in the choir on Sundays. One of her long-range goals is to play the organ for Sunday services, and she said it might take her a long time but she'll do it eventually.

Mrs. C said that she would talk to her minister if she had a problem. She also feels that she is the type of person to whom others turn for advice and aid. If he ever needed help or advice, Mr. C would go to a pastor also. He said that people come to him all the time for help and advice of all kinds.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 2

Mrs. C has no kin or friends to whom she can turn for emergency financial assistance.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 6

Mrs. C has been involved with Family Court because of attempts to get support from her first husband and the o.w. children of two of her daughters. Although she doesn't go to school meetings, Mrs. C is in touch with the teachers of her children. Mrs. C does not seem to use many of the community's agencies and organizations for the needs of her own family but she is very involved in working with them as a community aide.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 7

Mrs. C seems to be having a slight conflict as far as community activities go. She says that she wants to stay home at night, that her family and husband come first. She feels a tension between her mother role and being a community worker, for she is in demand as organizer and spokesman because of her intelligence and sensibility. She likes to be active. Mrs. C says that she is earnest when she agrees to do something, but often things come up and she can't and she hates to keep making excuses. She is trying to teach herself to say no. Mrs. C goes to church every Sunday. She does not attend PTA meetings.

Mr. C is a member of veterans group but isn't active at all. Aside from this he doesn't belong to any groups or organizations. He said that he felt that by being more active in community affairs he could help to improve it.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 3

Mrs. C's case was opened in 1963 because she had insufficient income to support herself and her children even though she was working. The case has remained continuously open until 1969 when Mrs. C married her present husband.

A few years ago Mrs. C applied for extra funds to take driving lessons so she could get a job she was trained for but her application was refused. She found the case through a fair hearing and won it.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. C has definite ideas about Welfare. She said she was waiting for the day when she could be off it, but she didn't think that the Department would cut her off it so quickly and so suddenly when she got married. She especially thought that the Department should continue providing medicare for the children. She did not voice many objections to Welfare in general, although she has had many specific complaints about it in particular. She regards welfare as a right to which she is entitled through no fault of her own.

Mr. C doesn't like the Welfare system one bit. He says there isn't much good about it and that its worst fault is that it is so hard to get adequate aid from the Department. He feels that a whole new set of ideas as to what people need and a stricter separation of the eligible from the ineligible could possibly improve the system.

Mr. C has paid back some of the money Mrs. C received before she was married to the Department. He now works three jobs so as to make sure his wife never has to go back on public assistance again. He says that some of his 'associates' feel welfare is the 'place to be'! He doesn't!

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 5

Mrs. C does not think she does well with finances. The C's do not pool their money. She said they keep their money separate and go halfs on the bills. Mrs. C does most of the ordering and decision-making, although she said her husband worries about their money a lot. For big decisions, she said that she and her husband would probably sit down and have a quick talk.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 4

Mrs. C has had a fairly long work history beginning in 1946 which has been interrupted for reasons mostly unrelated to childbearing--moving, or no transportation. She has worked mainly in hospitals and nursing homes in various capacities related to caring for patients and recently acquired her practical nursing degree. Mrs. C's reasons for leaving her last job in 1967 centered around the death of her child through a freak accident. She felt mentally unable to work. Her youngest child kept asking about her brother, and she felt drained of strength physically too. Her job before his death had been with children and she felt that to return would be too painful. But after 2 months Mrs. C did return to work in a job whereshe had direct contact with children as an aide in the school system. She makes home visits and keeps records part-time each day. In addition, since the summer of 1970, Mrs. C has been working full-time in a nursing home.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 6

Mrs. C always worked during her pregnancies, and has never found it a problem, except during her last one. She also usually returned to work soon after having the baby. Mrs. C's mother lives with the family and provides child care with the older children also able to help care for their younger siblings. In Ithaca she has used pre-school group programs and finds them very good for her youngest child. She feels that this type of program is superior to having a babysitter. She said that "lots of people think that they just play, but they are really learning how to share, to be exposed to things they have never seen before and to get use to teachers."

She said that her policy throughout her periods of employment has been to let her employer know that her children came first; thus, when they are sick she will stay home. She said that they have always been understanding about this.

There really are no obstacles in the way of Mrs. C continuing to work.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

Mrs. C liked her psychiatric nursing job because it was giving the patients emotional security. She said that on this job she did bedside nursing if the patients were in bed, but she also worked in the shock treatment room. This was rather traumatic for her at first but she got used to it. Mrs. C's ideal job is a hospital job.

Mrs. C works for a variety of reasons. She first of all needs the money. But she also enjoys getting out of the house and being with other adults. It is important to her that she have the kind of a job which she feels is a useful service to the community. For Mrs. C it is very important that she be able to use her skills in the job she holds. Mrs. C said that she would definitely work if she didn't have to, because it increases her self-respect. She didn't really think that all women would work if they didn't have to. She did know of a few cases of a husband who wouldn't want his wife to work. Mrs. C feels that her husband respects her more when she works.

If Mr. C could obtain a better job than he has presently, particularly working with children, he would take it. He works for money because he has no choice with his responsibilities and because "he'd go crazy if he had to stay home with his children." He would still work even if he had all the money he needed. He would like to take some courses in food preparation and service but doesn't see how he can afford it. He told me his best job was in a factory where he had to wear a tie and jacket. It gave him a feeling of prestiege to meet perspective customers.

Mr. C feels that most women don't want to work but says his wife does. He didn't know how other men feel about having their wives work but says his wife works to help pay bills and support the family. He says it was her decision to go to work in the first place and that she works two jobs and loves both of them. Mr. C is satisfied with his wife's jobs but would like to see her get her R.N. license. However he doesn't see how this can be. When she is working, he takes charge of the house and gets more than the "lion's share" of the work. Mr. C says he doesn't like this because his wife isn't around to supervise such things as the house cleaning. However, he can't see any way around this situation at the present. He does all the repair work around the house and loves it. Mr. C feels the only advantage to her working is the extra money to help with the bills. He thinks that the disadvantages were many--the most important was a lack of time to spend with each other and the children. Mr. C also has a feeling of "being backed into a corner because no one has time for him." He said that he feels his manhood is threatened by her jobs. In short Mr. C would prefer his wife to stay home but can't see how this can be and still pay all the bills.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 7

The future employment prospects of Mrs. C are very good. She is highly motivated and cannot imagine a life style which did not include working. In addition, with her experiences in working in hospitals and nursing homes she will always be able to find a job. Her vivacous and determined manner will also assure her of easy access to employment. On a practical level, Mrs. C and her family will continue to need money, especially in their struggle to stay off welfare. Mr. C would prefer that his wife not work, but is reconciled to having her be employed because of the financial need of the family as well as the fact that working is so important to her. He would have a difficult time, indeed, convincing her not to work.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 5

There is no evidence that Mrs. C's working has had harmful effects on her family. Most of her working career, Mrs. C's mother has been the caretaker for the children so that they have not been neglected. In addition, Mrs. C has found that the local group programs for pre-school children have been very beneficial. If Mrs. C had been able to be at home more while her 4 oldest daughters were small, perhaps they might be more highly motivated to get further education and jobs with a higher status. Possibly, the 2 daughters would not have had o.w. children. But again, if Mrs. C had been at home all the time her children were growing up and had never worked, these situations might still have happened.

For Mrs. C working is very important as a source of ego strength and community respect. Mrs. C likes to feel that what she is doing is recognized as a useful contribution to the community. Through working, Mrs. C is able to use her abundant energy and leadership abilities. She can find an outlet for her talent to work with people and her ambitions for self-fulfillment.

IMPLICATIONS

Mrs. C's story is a remarkable one. For a woman from humble beginnings and a poor family and upbringing, she has developed into a woman who is full of drive and ambition, capable and looked to by others in the community. She has established a stable family at the present time and the expectations are that her children now in the home will have a good chance to succeed.

An interesting aspect of the story is the question of the large number of children. How a woman who was working in hospitals could not have known that there were ways to limit one's children is rather strange. Now that she is on the pill and expects to have no more children, it is amazing that her girls are still having OW babies. Furthermore, how does a woman have the ambition of Mrs. C and have none of this rub off onto her daughters? This is a serious question.

The fact that Mr. C was willing to marry Mrs. C and take on the support of the family, jointly with his wife, is very encouraging. Since, according to welfare rules, a new husband is obligated to take on the support of all previous children, many women with large families are unable to find a man willing to take on this burden. This rule makes it even more difficult for welfare women to get the male support and model for their boys which is so necessary. Mr. C is providng financial, but also fathering help to the children and with his help, if all goes well, the family should continue in a stable way. The relatively high pay Mrs. C can bring in combined with the income of Mr. C's three jobs is necessary to keep this size family going.

There may be many women like Mrs. C, who have drive and ability, who would be able to profit from specific job training which would enable them to function at a higher level than their unskilled state would allow. Money spent on their training, in skills for which there is demand, will have great pay-off, not only in getting their families off welfare, but also in the respect their children will have for them, as Mrs. C illustrates.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. M AND HER FAMILY + 7

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 37
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages:
4 boys, 11 to 15 years

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: case closed
Number of times case closed: 3
Number of years on welfare: about 5

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: employed
Work typology: sporadic
Skills and training: takes dictation
Usual occupation: clerical, bookkeeper

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 65
No. of full-time jobs held: 10
No. of part-time jobs held: 0
Total no. of jobs held: 10
Longest period of employment: 17 months
Average job duration: 7 months
No. of months unemployed: 67
No. of periods of unemployment: 5
Longest period of unemployment: 54 months

Chronology showing important changes in the family -1

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1950				secretary, 4 years		
1955	1 child	married		stayed home, 4 years		
1956	1 child					
1957	1 child					
1959		separated		clerical in factory		
1960		divorced		bank teller		3 incompl. abortions from 1960-1962
1961				clerical in college		
1962				no work 3 yrs. 7 mo. clerical course		moved to Illinois
1965				clerical at a college		returned to Ithaca
1966				clerical in business organization		
1968				secretary, insurance co.		
1969				receptionist-bookkeeper to present		hospital-hysterectomy

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 5

Mrs. M has been classified by us as a sporadic worker. She has had 10 jobs in 11 years with 5 periods of unemployment. She is a white woman, 37 years old, with 4 boys, ages 11 to 15. In appearance she is thin but attractive. She lives in a small neat home which she owns. She has been divorced since her last child was born and has been getting support payments from her husband a good deal of the time. She has had to accept help from the Social Service Department when the payments from her husband have not been regular.

Mrs. M has had an operation and several abortions but her health is now good. She is working as a bookkeeper at the time of the interview but has had a variety of clerical and business jobs where she has had varying amounts of responsibility. To her, a good job is one where she can take responsibility, use her intelligence, and have a good boss. She is working at a higher level than her parents and expects her sons will go on to college and thus be at a higher level than she is. Each year things get better for her as the boys get older and have less need for supervision.

There is a strong feeling of solidarity in the family. Mrs. M is efficient, and things are going well--if she could only get a steady income which would allow her to get the things for her boys which she feels they need. Her biggest problem is the uncertainty of her income because she reports that the Department cuts her assistance whenever she goes to work or gets support payments.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 5

Mrs. M is a proud and determined woman who is strong enough to assert herself when she feels it is justified. She absolutely refuses to be "pushed around." Any job in which her employer or co-workers mistreat her is "just not worth it," and she did not have to "take that." Accordto Mrs. M, she is very willing to "stand up for her rights." When her budget is cut by the Department of Social Services, she battles it out with her caseworker until some kind of adjustment is made. Mrs. M is quite articulate. She is determined that no one is going to undermine the sense of independence which she has built up.

Mrs. M appears to have a great deal of self-esteem. She feels she has just as much to offer someone else as he has to offer her. Her success thus far has been mainly due to her own efforts and is very ambitious.

Mrs. M feels she is much more competent than most people she knows. She is confident in her intelligence and likes to have a job which is a challenge.

Mrs. M feels that her friends would describe her as having a nice personality, being easy to get along with, having a lot of fun, "people don't want to be around you if you're not fun," and honest. She is not sure how her children would describe her. They might say that she is "mean," and her oldest son calls her "skinny." Mrs. M thinks she could be described as "feminine." She feels this is true for several reasons: "I'm not bad looking and I dress nice; I know how to act, how to hold a conversation. People tell me I'm easy to be with. I have a good time....but still I have this air about me--I'm just not rough or tough. A feminine person doesn't necessarily have to be a person that's quiet and reserved.." Mrs. M manages to be quite active. "For being my age, I'm still young at heart... People probably think,'boy, she's got a lot of energy,'and I do...I always go, go, go. I just don't act my age."

Mrs. M is quite a tense person and often has a hard time getting herself to relax. She is rather nervous and finds sleep to be something of an escape. If Mrs. M has had a "bad day" she takes a tranquilizer or sleeping tablet and goes to bed. She feels that "sometimes you get tense and upset because you're so tired. There's no other way that you can release your tensions, especially the kind you get from just being around your kids." The case record states that in 1969 Mrs. M tried to fill a prescription for a medicine containing a drug more than the legally acceptable number of times. It seems that Mrs. M has a problem dealing effectively with her tensions caused by the strain of daily living.

Mrs. M is quite proud, and feels that she would "just die" if her friends knew she was on welfare. She is worried about security. Her Welfare budget is constantly being altered, and she never knows for sure just how much money she can count on. Mrs. M feels that if she is willing to help herself, then she should in turn be helped enough so that she does not just merely have to exist. Rather, she should be getting ahead. Mrs. M is a sensitive and thoughtful person. She spends a good deal of time reflecting on her circumstances and pondering the causes and effects of what has happened to her.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 6

Things were really at their worst when Mrs. M's husband first left her. She wasn't getting any money, she almost lost her house, and she was also pregnant for her fourth child at this time. After she had her baby, she immediately got a job. However, this was for quite low pay. There were many times when she could not receive help from the Department because she was receiving some money from her former husband. Things are probably at their best right now for Mrs. M and her family. As to the future, Mrs. M hopes that it will be better. By four or five years she hopes to have found herself a husband. Mrs. M believes that "you have to help yourself." "I haven't sat around...I've always said that somebody's watched over me. I can't help but feel this way because I've gotten this far alone. You can't think that the world is going to come to you. You have to get out yourself."

There is nothing that Mrs. M would really have liked to change about her life, except that she wishes now that she had had the same feeling about marriage before that she has now.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. M was married in 1955 and divorced in 1960. She doesn't know where her former husband is and has not been in touch with him for several years. He does not visit the children or send support payments.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 3

At times Mrs. M thinks that she's better off without a husband. Husbands, she feels, sometimes cause extra problems which she does not now have. Mrs. M eventually would like to remarry after her children are grown. She does not feel she can remarry at this point in her life because her children are too set in their ways. She doesn't know how well they would take advice from somebody new. She would be afraid of this, unless the man were really exceptional, and interested in the things her children did.

Mrs. M feels that she has better views on marriage now than she did before. She found out that "love" alone was not enough for marriage. "Getting along together" is one of the essential elements of a good life for her. She wouldn't want a man that worked around the clock. She wants to be able to do things together. Marriage should be more or less a companionship, although love plays a great part in this. Mrs. M wants a closeness that she never had before. "Whatever I'm looking for is not what it was before." So far she has not met anyone that she is interested in spending much time with.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 6

Mrs. M is happy with the number of children she has. She has never felt sorry that she didn't have a girl. Mrs. M feels that there are many different ways of looking at just what is a "good mother." Some would characterize the good mother as one who keeps her kids clean, whose kids are polite, Others would say that "it is one who spends all her time with her kids and doesn't do anything else."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 5

Mrs. M sees herself as a strict mother whose children know "she means business.Although she describes herself as a "very mean mother and having a rotten disposition when it comes to kids," Mrs. M seems to be a sensitive mother. She doesn't like the idea of forcing children. "One can set down rules without being a dictator."

She thinks that things go worse with her children when there are more pressures on her for one reason or another. She feels that if she had all her time for her children, then things would be fine, that they wouldn't have any problems. Mrs. M emphasizes the fact that "each of the personalities is different, so you have different problems with each child."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mrs. M said very little about her individual children. There is no indication that any of her four sons has significant physical or emotional problems. They range in age from 11 to 15 years.

Two are doing well in school and two are not doing so well, because they don't want to apply themselves. One son would like to be a lawyer and one would like to go in the service, but she feels that this may not be particularly significant. They might change their minds. She finds it hard to tell if things will go better for her boys. "Even kids from the very best of families sometimes go wrong. We don't have it bad, we just don't have a father."

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 5

Mrs. M feels that she and her four boys are quite close. Although she knows that it has been difficult for them not to have a father at home and not to have opportunities to visit him. She does not think that this has prevented the five of them from developing a good relationship and a sense of family loyalty and solidarity. Since the boys are very close in age, there is a lot of "horsing around and bickering and some real brawls" but Mrs. M feels that this is natural with boys and that underneath all the fighting is real affection and friendship. In addition, the family has a good time together "doing boy kind of things - fishing, hiking, camping, and playing ball." Mrs. M says, "I've had to learn all kinds of new things when faced with four boys - even putting worms on hooks."

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 3

Mrs. M had a hysterectomy in 1969. In addition, the case record states that she has had three incomplete abortions between 1960 and 1962, although it did not give details.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

Mrs. M owns her own home and has almost finished paying for it. It has seven rooms and is in excellent condition. The yard and inside the house are clean and fairly neat. Mrs. M has decorated her home tastefully and her furniture has survived the rough-housing of her boys. The only negative factor with her housing is that she is dissatisfied with her neighborhood. "It's changing and getting run-down. Someday I would like to move."

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 6

Because Mrs. M is a highly organized and competent person, managing her household is no problem. She has well-established routines and schedules -"almost automatic after so many years of practice." Mrs. M's children will pitch in and cook when she needs help. She makes her sons do a little bit of housework, but she feels that boys should not be made to do too much of this.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 3

Mrs. M's father and mother both had a 4th grade education. They are retired now and live at the western end of New York State. Mrs. M goes there two or three times a year and occasionally her parents visit her. She has one divorced sister, whom she sees quite regularly. Mrs. M would turn to her sister for emergency child care and financial aid. She also feels this sister understands her best. She is not particularly close to any of her other relatives since she doesn't see them very often. She feels that this is mainly because they are married and they have their own lives and their own problems.

Mrs. M feels she can talk to anyone. She is good at putting people at ease and she feels that she can get along with others much better than most people she knows. She likes the people she works with. However, they are not her friends outside of work. Mrs. M feels that it causes many problems to mingle with one's co-workers outside the job. Mrs. M knows quite a few other people. She goes out socially quite a lot, but she usually limits this to weekends. In part, this is because she finds that if she does not get to bed early during the week it is extremely hard to get up for work the next morning. Mrs. M does not feel particularly restricted socially because now her children are old enough that she can go out for an evening without having to worry about a babysitter. However, she can never just "get away" for a weekend. Many of her friends are divorced or separated. Almost all of her friends work, as well.

Mrs. M has no set activities, but rather likes to go dancing or just get together informally with people. She would like to try such things as horseback riding and learning to play the piano, but she just never has time for this.

If Mrs. M had a big problem she would talk to her caseworker. She thinks they are the only ones who can possibly help with serious problems. As for other day-to-day problems, Mrs. M usually works these difficulties out for herself. As she says, "I'm very strong--I do my own thinking--I make my own decisions." She solves her own problems and seems very proud of this fact. Occasionally she may ask one of her girlfriends their opinion about something.

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VIII. FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 4

Mrs. M is too proud to ask anyone for emergency financial support unless she were really desperate. Then she feels she can turn to her sister.

IX. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

Mrs. M would turn to the Department of Social Services for any major assistance with problems. In addition, she keeps in touch with the teachers of her children, especially the two who are not doing well in school. Also, Mrs. M has been in the hospital for abortions and an operation.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 4

Mrs. M has never volunteered for any kind of project and belongs to no clubs or organizations.

X. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 4

Mrs. M's case was first opened in April 1960 for two months, after being referred to the Department by Family Court because her husband was not sending support payments. Four months later, her case was reopened and not closed for almost 2 years because Mrs. M was in and out of the labor force and was not always working. The next time she received assistance was from January 1968 to July 1969 because Mrs. M could not keep a job. Two months later her case was reopened and she still is receiving partial assistance since her husband is not sending support payments.

Mrs. M feels terrible about being on Welfare, but she has no choice. Her husband hasn't been supporting her in the past few years, and she won't "let the kids go without just because I'm too proud." She was proud at first, but she wasn't making ends meet. "I wouldn't want anybody to know I was on Welfare. I just hate the thought of it." This is one of her biggest problems. She doesn't like people to know things like that about her. Mrs. M has had innumerable battles with her caseworkers and is very articulate about describing her own experiences and adding her suggestions for improving the functioning of the Department.

When Mrs. M goes back to work after being unemployed, her budget is cut. She feels that this is very unfair because it provides no incentive to work. On each occasion that her budget has been cut, she has battled it out with her caseworker. She feels that they just don't seem to realize the financial difficulties involved in raising four children. She mentioned that she would not work if every bit extra that she can earn was taken away from her Welfare allotment. She thinks that it is important that she, and especially her children, be allowed to have some "extras." She refuses to send her children to school in "rags." This would be very detrimental to them. Mrs. M feels that this constant change in the amount of her public assistance grant is very frustrating. She wants to know just how much she can plan on. She likes to budget so that she can pay her bills on the first on the month. After bills are paid, she starts saving and putting aside for the next month.

Mrs. M feels the Department "pushed" her back to work after her operation in 1969. "They made me go every week looking for jobs, and I soon felt mentally exhausted from just looking. It really got on my nerves." What she really resented was the fact that they wanted her to take any job, even factory production work. She feels that if they had not been so insistent, she might have gone back to work sooner. In a sense she was "rebelling."

Her caseworker has told her that if her husband pays support three times in a row, she will be taken off Welfare. She feels that there is no sense in this, because she knows that he will soon stop paying again anyway. If he stops paying support, she will be put back on Welfare again. This just makes extra work for the Department! The Department also wants her to help track down her husband. Mrs. M feels that "you don't have time to go chasing your husband for support payments when you're working. If a person is going to go out and work, then the Department has to stand behind her. If they don't, they might as well forget that woman working." Mrs. M has found that "you have to fight; you have to fight for everything you want." She does not think that most people are out to cheat the Department.

Mrs. M has several suggestions as how to improve the welfare system, particularly in regard to women with children who are divorced. Rather than waiting to see if the woman receives a support check for the month and then making up the difference to her, problems could be eliminated by giving the woman a check directly, and in return the woman could forward whatever money she might receive to the Department. The main problem of these women is that "they never know for sure what they have coming in." One thing that the Department often does not take into consideration is that going out to work means extra expenses for clothes, transportation, etc.

Mrs. M saw certain problems the Department has to contend with, such as parents who drink up the check for instance, but she thought that there were solutions to these problems. The main thing is that the children should be taken care of. This could be done by the Department giving the checks directly to food and clothing stores. In this way there could be no misuse of funds. She says that the Department said a plan of this nature would be too hard to administer. However, she feels it would be well worth it.

Mrs. M has advice for those legislators who will be passing new food stamp and medicaid regulations. "Don't cut food stamps or medicaid out on those who work even though we are over budget, because this takes up much of our income if we do not have husbands who faithfully support us or take care of medical bills. We may be making over what our welfare budget allows but in the long run we are making less because we are trying to help ourselves. I strongly think we should try to continue to receive this much help regardless. I think that if people knew we could get ahead, we would all be glad to go to work to better ourselves. Mrs. M seems to be urging those in positions of power not to penalize the individuals and families who are ambitious and desire to improve their socio-economic position.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. M sees herself as being good with finances, since this is her vocation. Being single insures her financial independence, according to Mrs. M. She knows how much money she has, rather than being on an "allowance," as are some married women. If she were to remarry, Mrs. M feels that she would want to be sure that financial problems were worked out ahead of time as much as possible.

XI. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 4

BACKGROUND:

Mrs. M's mother worked almost all her life doing pressing at a dry cleaners. At first, she worked because of financial necessity. However, after her children grew up, it seemed to be more a case of working out of "habit." She couldn't imagine not working, and when the time came for her to retire, she didn't "know what to do with herself." Her father usually worked as a janitor, but was unemployed some of the time. He did not have that much trouble in getting jobs but rather in keeping them. She feels that, in general, her own family is much better off than her parents were when she was growing up. She had 5 brothers and sisters and "times were harder" in those days.

All of Mrs. M's brothers and sisters are married, except for one sister who is also divorced. This sister has been divorced for quite some time, has no children, and is working as a waitress. Her other two sisters do not work. She feels that all of them are doing quite well and that none of them have any real financial difficulties.

Since her oldest son is not yet 16, none of her children are working. Two of her sons had paper routes in the past, but she made them quit them. The main problem was that they had to get up too early and as a result they were just not doing as well in school as they should have been. Also, for the amount of work that they had to do, she did not feel that this job paid enough. Her third son does get involved from time to time in selling greeting cards, etc.

Mrs. M worked for 4 years as a secretary before she was married in 1955. She did not work while she was living with Mr. M. After they were separated in 1959, and until 1962, when she moved to Illinois, Mrs. M had 3 jobs, as a secretary in a factory, as a bank teller and as a clerk in a local college. She lived for 3 years in Illinois and took a clerical training course for 7 months, but did not work. Mrs. M prefers not to talk about those years. She has had a variety of jobs since she returned to Ithaca in 1965.

In general, most of Mrs. M's jobs have been about the same as far as skills and duties are concerned. She has mostly been involved in general office work. Mrs. M gave a variety of reasons for her leaving herjobs. She felt that the job she had at a local college wasted her schooling. Basically all she was doing was opening mail. She liked her job at a local business organization most of all, but when a new manager came, things changed. She felt that he pressured her too much. She just could not get along with him. She found her boss at an insurance company "too nervous." Mrs. M remarked that if she liked the job, she stayed whether the pay was low or not. The pay at the job she liked the best had been quite low, but she still stayed until other factors forced her to quit. In general, it seems that it was a question of personalities which usually induced Mrs. M to quit. Either she could not get along with the boss or she disliked her co-workers.

Mrs. M got her current job as a bookkeeper for a small company through the State Employment Office. At present, Mrs. M works part-time from about 9:00 a.m. to about 2:00 p.m. Her hours are fairly flexible. She has certain duties which must be performed, and she can pretty much set her own schedule as she likes, as long as her work gets done. Right now, Mrs. M is in charge of accounts receivable. She bills customers and also takes care of receipts. However, it is understood that eventually she will be taking over for a woman who is going to retire. Then her work will be full-time. She is somewhat apprehensive about this. For one thing, she has had no formal training in bookkeeping. They are training her on the job. Mrs. M worries that she may not be able to take the pressure of "being in charge." She wonders whether she will have a firm enough background by that time to handle it. Also, she finds bookkeeping somewhat dull and monotonous.

Until she started working at a local college in 1965, after she had returned from Illinois, Mrs. M had a live-in baby sitter. She usually got them by placing an ad in the newspaper. The first one was the best of all. She was very good with the boys and also took the initiative to clean, cook, etc. However, after a time she wanted to go away. Another of her baby sitters got married. One was particularly bad and Mrs. M eventually had to get rid of her. She locked the door and wouldn't let the children come inside. She drank, and she had her boyfriend over while Mrs. M was away. Thus, no real generalization can be made about her baby sitters. Mrs. M was extremely pleased with some of them and very unhappy with others.

From 1965 to the present Mrs. M has had no formal day care arrangements. The children watch themselves until she comes home. So far, she has had no particular problems with the situation. Mrs. M said that she would always prefer having someone come into her home to take care of her children over a day care center. "The main problem is that those who set up these centers don't seem to realize how hard it is to get children ready in the morning in addition to getting oneself ready." The main problem in work is that she cannot be home when one of her children is sick. Instead, she has to leave him by himself and hope that he will be all right. Another problem concerns her former husband. The Department is pressuring her to engage in an all-out effort to track him down to make him pay support for the children. For example, she had to go to a court in Pennsylvania. Mrs. M wonders how long her employer will allow her to take off days for reasons such as this. She feels it should be up to the Department to do some of the tracking down.

In addition to the training course she took in Illinois, she would like to take shorthand again to build up speed.

Mrs. M doesn't have any obstacles to employment except her unwillingness to be harassed in any way, by her boss or her fellow workers. She has many work resources, including her strong motivation to work.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

For Mrs. M, the best way to get an income is to work. She thinks that a job gives a woman more prestige than being a housewife. The most important aspect of work for Mrs. M is to have a job which uses her skills and is interesting.

The best job that Mrs. M ever had was working as a secretary at a local business concern. She performed a wide variety of tasks, such as preparing for meetings, writing up newsletters, etc. She really enjoyed it because she felt challenged in this job and was given some responsibility. She also liked it because there was no pressure--"you just worked at your own pace." She enjoyed the fact that people "worked together." Her hours were all right but the pay was "lousy." She discovered the job through a newspaper advertisement. She then went down to apply and took a qualifying test. It appears that Mrs. M is most happy when she has a job which she thinks does justice to her intelligence. If she finds that she cannot get along with her boss or her co-workers, this becomes the most important factor. She says, "Actually, the most important thing is who you work for." If she did not have to work for financial reasons, Mrs. M feels that she would probably still want to work at least part-time. She wouldn't want to stay home unless she remarried. In that case, she would probably have enough to keep her busy. Of course she does not want to go to work every day but Mrs. M usually looks forward to it. She particularly likes to meet new people, but her current job as a bookkeeper does not give her much time or opportunity to do this. When she got out of the hospital and was staying home, she got very "restless" from not working. She felt that she "goofed off" too much. Mrs. M feels that most men want their wives to work for the sake of the money that they earn. She does not think that the factor of the children being more on their own influences men's thinking much.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 6

Mrs. M will continue to be an active worker. She will probably stay in the sporadic category because she probably will continue to interact with her bosses and fellow workers in the same manner in which she has in the past. This will mean that she will most likely continue to change jobs fairly often. Already there seem to be indications that she may leave her present job before too many months pass. When the other bookkeeper retires, and Mrs. M begins to work full-time, she may find this is more pressure than she can cope with. Or she may feel that she is not skillful enough yet in bookkeeping methods to handle the job. Again she may become bored and not want to continue to work there. However, Mrs. M seems to have no difficulty in finding a job and has always begun working in another situation almost immediately after being fired or quitting the previous job.

XII. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 6

Working has very beneficial effects on Mrs. M. When she is not working, she becomes nervous and doesn't know how to cope with the extra leisure time. One of her important needs seems to be that she must keep busy at something which she considers worthwhile. She has a hard time relaxing and has no desire for more leisure time except to be with her children. Mrs. M prides herself on being an activist, feeling that her constant "doing" makes her appear younger than she really is. Mrs. M enjoys being with people and meeting them. She is able to relate well to others so long as they don't misuse her. Mrs. M is very sensitive about the attitude of others toward her and about their manner of dealing with her. Mrs. M believes that her working has had a direct effect on her children. She is not able to be as strict as she would like to be because she is gone much of the day and cannot enforce the limits and rules she has set. She also has too little time to spend with her children. Mrs. M thinks that working may effect older children negatively. She says, "When kids are too old for baby sitters, you don't know what they are doing or where they are."

Mrs. M thinks that her children have had to assume more responsibility around the house since she has been working. Keeping house when she is working is no problem for Mrs. M.

IMPLICATIONS

She has her house almost paid for; she has a T.V.; she has a used car; she has enough food, even if it is not always what she would like most to have. The real cause of her current situation is that she is divorced and her ex-husband does not pay her support regularly. She does have some training and experience in office work. She just is not able to earn enough doing this type of work to adequately support a family of five.

In order to rate herself as truly satisfied with the way her life is going, Mrs. M probably would have to remarry. At times, she feels lonely without a husband, and she feels that she now has the correct attitude toward marriage, if she could find the right man. She is also searching for the job: one where she will be able to utilize her intelligence, which will present a challenge, but which will not place too much pressure on her. If she could take a course in shorthand as she would like to do, this would definitely enhance her money-making prospects. More importantly perhaps would be the development of some sort of a system that is more effective in forcing her ex-husband to pay support. If she did receive these payments, this (along with her money from working) would be enough so that she would not have to be on Welfare. As Mrs. M said, it should be the Welfare Department which should take more of the time tracking down her husband. As the situation now stands, she frequently has to take time off from work to do this herself. She fears she may lose her job because of this.

Mrs. M presents an interesting picture of a woman with a great deal of strength and a great deal of drive to use her abilities and to get ahead. She finds it difficult to keep a job when she does not have a chance to use her talents or when she does not get along with her boss. The reasons for her divorce are not given in the record, but one wonders if the independence she shows in her working are not the qualities that on one hand, make her a responsible and creative employee, but on the other hand make it difficult for her to work under the supervision of someone else, perhaps especially men. Perhaps these same qualities made it difficult for her to live with her husband.

The most interesting things in this record are her feelings about the assistance she gets from the Department and the ways she feels her energy and ambition are being penalized. Whenever she gets a job and tries to put her family ahead, she reports that the Department cuts her check. Her attitudes exemplify the conditions the WIN program and FAP program are supposed to deal with. Here is a capable, efficient woman who could easily manage on a given amount of income, but who would like to better her condition. Her efforts should pay off for her family.

Mrs. M's problems with her husband and his support payments is another area of concern, shared by many thousands of women today. It is indeed important to her that her husband make these payments, but to expect her to take time off from her work seems unreasonable to her. Mrs. M's concern is that she have enough to keep her family the way she thinks they should be kept, with enough clothes so that her boys will not be singled out among their peers because of what they wear. Nationwide, the the problem of support payments from husbands, who have many times gone on to support another family, is very serious. Any man who would marry Mrs. M at this time, would have to accept the support for her children, according to the Department rules. This is an added consideration inhibiting a man's interest in marriage even though the presence of a father in this home with four boys would be considered desirable.

From the record, it does not appear that Mrs. M was married at too early an age, or that she started having children too young. According to the best predictors, her chances of success for her marriage on those grounds were good, and the breakup of her marriage cannot be explained by immaturity.

For Mrs. M the future looks good. Her house will be paid off and her boys grown and on to better education and independence. If she could find a man who would appreciate her qualities it would round out her satisfactions. In the mean time, she is happier when working and gets a good deal of satisfaction from her jobs. The problem in "pressure" in the jobs may be serious and it is to be hoped that she can learn to cope with this and will not find the responsibility of the supervisory job she is moving into too much for her.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. H AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 1

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 51
Education: 10th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 7 children
  4 children from 1st marriage,
  3 on their own and 1 at home
  3 children from 2nd marriage.
  ages 11 to 14 years

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 2
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: self-employed
Husband's usual occupation:
  maintenance and gardening

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: working
Work typology: sporadic
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: domestic

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 78
No. of full-time jobs held: 3
No. of part-time jobs held: 5
Total no. of jobs held: 8
Longest period of employment: 40 mos.
Average job duration: 70 months
No. of months unemployed: 54
No. of periods of unemployment: 7
Longest period of unemployment: 21 mos.

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on public assistance
No. of times case closed: 4
No. of years on welfare: 9

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 1

Year	Birth dates	Marital	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare	Other changes
1948		Mrs.H wed 1st husband		didn't work during 1st marriage	case opened stayed open during 6 yrs of 1st marriage	
1949	child					
1950	child					
1951	child					
1954		Mrs.H separated				
1955	child	Mr.andMrs.H lived together				
1956 1957	child	divorced and married Mr.H	worked at high school,1 year			
1958	child					
1959	child		self-employed as gardener and maintenance man 12 years		case opened	
1961				dress factory for 3 1/2 years		
1962					case closed and reopened	
1963					case closed	
1964					case reopened	
1965						Mrs.H had arthritis of spine
1966				sporadic domestic work up to present, as health permits. Home when necessary	case closed, reopened	
1967					case closed	
1968					case reopened to present	
1970						daughter involved with drugs

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

Mrs. H has been placed in the sporadic worker category by us because of the many times she has been in and out of the work force during the last eleven years. Before 1966, Mrs. H worked for over two years at a local garment factory and hardly missed a day of work. The interruption of this steady work pattern was caused by the development of arthrities of the spine. Mrs. H, following the instructions of her doctor, left this job and spent several months at home. She then started working as a cleaning woman - a job which she is able to handle for several months at a time followed by some more months of staying at home. Because she can set her own pace and schedule and determine whether her health will permit her to work or not, housecleaning has been an ideal job for her according to Mrs. H. She has a core of very satisfied families who do not mind when she takes several months off because of the excellent and dependable way she performs her job. In the past four years, Mrs. H has had six intervals of employment lasting up to eleven months and six periods of unemployment averaging about six months.

Mrs. H is older looking than her thirty-nine years, short and heavy in build, with quick movements and a rapid manner of talking. Her hair is brown streaked with gray and her eyes are hazel. Mrs. H has a pleasant looking face and a warm smile. The H family live about ten miles out in the country in a small community where the neighbors are mutually helpful. One of the things which means the most to Mrs. H are her relationships with these families as well as other friends and with her mother and grandmother.

Mrs. H has had a total of seven children. The three oldest lived with her first husband, Mr. M, after their separation in 1954, which ended six years of marriage. These children have left the home of their father and step-mother because two of them are married and one is in the service. The youngest child from this marriage, M, a daughter who is fifteen has continued living with her mother. Recently she has been placed on probation by the Family Court for running away and taking drugs. Shortly after her separation from Mr. M, Mrs. H began living with Mr. H whom she married in 1957 after her divorce became final. They have had three children, the youngest of whom is eleven. They have continued living together and seemed to have worked out a viable relationship which complements each other's strengths and weaknesses. For the last twelve years, Mr. H has been self-employed as a maintenance man and gardener, working at odd jobs. He does not earn enough to support the family even with Mrs. H's salary so for this same period, the family has at various times been totally or partially supported by grants from the Department of Social Services.

Mrs. H is a strong competent woman who is able to function quite adequately in her various roles. She likes to present an idealized picture of a happy well-adjusted family but not to the point that she is unable to deal realistically with some very real problems which confront the H family.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 6

Mrs. H has lots of self-esteem yet thinks of herself as a woman in very traditional ways. For her a feminine woman is one who is obedient to her husband and tries to please him and look good for him. Rather than finding satisfaction and recognition through her own achievements, Mrs. H thinks it should be enough for any woman to get respect through the accomplishments of her husband and children.

However, in the way she functions, Mrs. H is an independent and competent woman. Her sources of strength seem to lie outside her immediate family in her relationships with her employers, her relatives, and friends. Being a good friend and neighbor is very important to her.

The adjectives she says her family and friends would use to describe her are all positive - friendly, helpful, fun, hard worker, cooperative. Her children would add - nice, a little strict, bossy, good mother. Mrs. H did not hesitate or have any trouble in thinking of these words. Mrs. H likes to talk. She admits that she is not a good listener, except when one of her friends or relatives or children is upset and wants to "spill the beans" as she described it. She is also able to take stand on issues which concern her. Mrs. H sees herself as a person who is not afraid to speak up for herself and others.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 5

Mrs. H feels that she has a large degree of control over what happens to her. "If you really work at your problems, usually something happens or there is some way of doing something about what is bugging you." Because of this outlook on life and her ability to handle crises and problems effectively, Mrs. H is optimistic about the future. She feels things should be going better for the family five years from now. The youngest child will almost have finished school and most of the rest of the children will be on their own. "We won't have this big hassle with teenagers and their problems."

The low point in her life for Mrs. H was just before and after the separation from her first husband when she did not have adequate support for her family, was trying to assume new roles for which she did not feel prepared and was constantly being harassed by Mr. M. The best years were the beginning ones of her second marriage when M and B were small and she was at home starting another family with a new husband.

Looking back, Mrs. H wishes she had made some different decisions when she was a teenager. "I would have stayed in school and finished rather than dropping out and getting married. I was too young to marry and it didn't work out." Mrs. H finished tenth grade. Most of her friends did not finish school either. She has thought about going back to get a high school equivalency degree but does not think she ever will. "I'm too old to go back to school. My kids have passed me or soon will and I would feel funny going back now."

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mrs. H refuses to talk much about her first marriage to Mr. M which lasted from 1948 to 1954. "That is over. I left that mess behind sixteen years ago and what is happening now is what I want to think about." She did say that when Mr. M left her he took their three children to live with him since he was getting married right away." They have continued to live with him. Mrs. H felt it was not necessary to explain why he has custody of the children. She did say that one of the things which made the separation so difficult for her was that she was pregnant at the time. Mr. M still lives in town and she sees her children quite frequently.

Mr. and Mrs. H started living together shortly after M was born in 1955 and were married in June 1957 after her divorce from Mr. M became final. Although playing the traditional role of the authoritative father, Mr. H seems to be a weak and dependent man. In spite of the way in which Mrs. H publicly acknowledges that he is the head of the household, it seems that she is really the strong person in the home who holds the family together and supports it most consistently. They each unconsciously seem to be playing games to protect Mr. H and those around him from discovering his inadequacies. The caseworker for the H family says, "Mrs. H covers up for her husband's erratic employment and behavior. She continues to make excuses for her husband and to present as good a picture of him as possible to those outside the family. The stabilizing factor in the family is Mrs. H who is always working and always there to assist her family."

Mr. H has worked for himself the last twelve years doing gardening, landscaping, maintenance and repairing in homes and small kinds of home alterations. He likes this kind of work where he keeps his own hours and is his own boss much better than his last job as a custodian at the high school. There, the hours were erratic and the pay low. He worked at the high school when they were first married in 1957, but soon quit when he felt this job interfered with his family life. When Mr. H can obtain enough of this odd kind of jobs or when he finds some kind of gardening or maintenance work which is regular and full time for awhile, then the family no longer needs public assistance. But most of the time, Mr. H's jobs are short-term so that his income is not stable enough to end the family's dependence on welfare, even when Mrs. H is working. For some reason, Mr. H does not seem able to cope with the responsibilities of a regular full-time job.

One way in which Mr. H departs from the traditional role he usually assumes in the family is what he does around the house. He cooks and bakes and takes over the responsibility for most of the meals. In addition, he does a lot of the housework and helped care for the children when they were smaller. Both Mr. and Mrs. H seem comfortable about this arrangement.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 5

Mr. and Mrs. H seem to be quite independent when it comes to their work. "He does his work and I do mine and we don't interfere with each other." However, when it comes to making decisions, Mr. H is definitely in charge. "He talks things over with me to get my opinions but then decides what he thinks is best. And he is usually right." There is some flexibility because Mrs. H added, "If I really want something I can usually talk him into it but I don't do that very often." The one big problem for Mrs. H in her marriage is the rather possessive feeling Mr. H has about her activities outside of work. "He doesn't want me to go places and do things without him - he feels that he has to go along; and sometimes I want to go places he doesn't want to go and then I have to stay home. He is also very strict about letting the kids go places by themselves." The one change she would like to make in her marriage is for her husband to give her more freedom.

Mr. and Mrs. H seem to have worked out a complementary relationship which allows Mr. H to be head of the family despite a tendency to be emotionally dependent and his inability to provide his family with a stable income. Mrs. H is able to use her strength and stability in such a way that Mr. H is not threatened and she feels satisfied about her familial situation.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 5

Mrs. H is not having any more children. She wanted only two but gave birth to seven. "I guess I had so many kids because I had two husbands and they both wanted lots of kids." But Mrs. H seems to enjoy her role as a mother and to handle the stresses and strains of child-rearing as they come along. She says, "I enjoy my children and am not lonesome. I've always loved kids from when I was growing up." For Mrs. H being a good mother means that "you really care about your kids and put their needs above yours, giving them lots of love but also being strict with them."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 5

Mr. H is an old-fashioned father believing in strict discipline and rather rigid rules. Mrs. H seems to feel that the children accept this. The difficulty for her is that her approach to the children is much freer and more lenient. "I let them get away with things which their father won't." However, even though they don't agree on discipline and ways of handling the children, Mrs. H did not see this as a big problem because "the kids know he is boss and they know I'll agree with him if put to a test - that he is usually right even when they try to get around me."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

In general, Mrs. H says that things are going well for her seven children. The two oldest children from her first marriage are now married themselves and the youngest child is away from home in the service. L, a daughter who is 21, is married to a man who works at a gasoline station. Her oldest son, E age 20, attends the local community college while his wife works in a variety store in Cortland. Her nineteen year old son from her first marriage, C, is in the Navy.

The three children who are still home with the H's have their jobs to do after school - B, age 14, is active in sports and K, the youngest daughter age 12, belongs to 4-H. Mrs. H is pleased about these activities. "I want them to be more active in school things than I had a chance to be." B would like to quit school but his father won't let him. K wants to go on to college and is doing well. D, the youngest boy age 11, gets upset at school sometimes and his teachers feel he is not doing as well as he could. Mrs. H seemed rather vague about her children's future plans and gave a rather generalized picture of what they were thinking about by saying, "I guess they'll do just like my other kids - either graduate or drop out of high school, get a job and get married." She really did not have any particular aspirations for her children, feeling that if they were happily married and liked their work that would be enough.

Mrs. H tries to present an idealized picture of the way things are going with her children. This is similar to the protective manner she has when speaking about her husband. When asked about problems with any of her children, Mrs. H seemed hesitant to disclose anything serious. She did say that her daughter M, age 15, is on probation for using drugs and running away. She lives at present with L, the oldest married daughter. Mrs. H seems to feel "that M has gone wrong" because she was born shortly after Mrs. H was separated and maybe didn't get all the attention she should have. The case record states that in June 1970 M was placed in a foster home because her parents said that in addition to running away and taking drugs, they could not control her. After a few weeks in the foster home, M was placed in a state institution for girls. After two months, she went to live with her sister. Part of the probationary requirement is that she attend school regularly.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 5

Mrs. H does not feel that her separation and remarriage have had a damaging effect on the children except for M. "She was caught in the middle between the two marriages." Mrs. H seems to feel satisfied with the relationship she has maintained with her three older children and with the way they have developed and grown up.

Mrs. H feels that the absence of M has made a break in their unity as a family. "It's different than if she was just leaving home because she was on her own." However, M comes to see the family frequently and is living with her sister which helps the family to feel that she is not gone completely from their midst.

Despite the competing interests of the other teenage children, the H family still spends a lot of time together visiting friends and relatives, bowling, picnicking, and camping. Mrs. H thinks that it is the closeness of her own relatives which serves as a model for the H family. "Most of us keep in touch with each other almost every day unless we leave this area." Mrs. H hopes that her children will do the same when they have left home.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 3

The H family does not seem to have any health problems except for Mrs. H's arthritis of the spine. This is not a major problem for her so long as she follows the doctor's instructions about the kind of work she can do. The main difficulty is that Mrs. H is not able to continue working for long periods of time. After several months on the job, she stays home for awhile.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 5

The H's live in a rural area but one where the houses are built quite close together. Their home is a small white frame building, well-maintained by Mr. H. Inside it is quite clean and neat but crowded. The kitchen has been attractively remodeled. The yard was somewhat cluttered but not enough to detract from a general sense of order and good management.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 5

Mrs. H finds that maintaining her home in a manner which satisfies her high standards of housekeeping is very difficult when she is working. She would like to have a lot more time to give to this. The help which Mr. H gives her makes it much easier. The H's also have assigned tasks to all the children. Mr. H supervises the accomplishing to these duties very closely, when he is home.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 6

Mrs. H finds more satisfaction from her relationships with kin and friends than from any other aspect of her life. Mrs. H and members of her family often visit their neighbors and friends who in turn drop in at the H's home. There seems to be a good deal of mutual help among the neighbors in babysitting, gifts of food, helping out in an emergency, etc. Mrs. H has a good friend for whom she cleans. This woman helped her several times and is one of the persons to whom she would turn for help and advice. Mrs. H feels that other persons turn to her for help and advice in the same way.

Mrs. H talks with her mother and grandmother almost every day and sees them several times a week. She feels that they understand her better than anyone else. Mrs. H's parents live nearby and her grandmother lives with them. A sister lives in a small town about twenty miles away and her brother lives in Texas. He and his family come about once a year to visit. Mr. H's father is dead and his mother is quite elderly and living with his sister. Mrs. H gets along well with her husband's relatives. Mrs. H uses any leisure time she has in crocheting, embroidering, sewing, baking, reading, or writing letters if she wants to do something by herself. "I'm not one for sitting around - I've got to be active."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 5

Mrs. H could ask her mother or one of the families for whom she cleans for money if it were an emergency.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

Because of their inabilities to handle M recently, the H's have become involved with the Family Court and the Probation Department. The guidance counselor and school social worker were also involved.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 4

The children are active in 4-H and school sports. Their parents are not involved in any kind of volunteer activities. Mr. and Mrs. H belong to no clubs or organizations except for a rather loose tie to a church.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 4

The H family has a sporadic case record with the Department of Social Services. During her first marriage which lasted six years, Mrs. H received public assistance quite steadily according to the case record. After marrying Mr. H in 1957, their case was opened for the first time in March 1959 when Mr. H was laid off work and was opened until September 1962 when he worked full time. In November 1962 the case was reopened because Mr. H was not employed. The case was closed again in April 1963 because both Mr. and Mrs. H were working. When Mrs. H began a new job in September of that same year, the case was reopened for one month because he had not been paid. Then in December 1964 the case was reopened because Mr. H was working part time. This time they received public assistance until August 1966 when Mr. H began working steadily. Four months later in December 1966 Mr. H had no odd jobs and they were back on welfare again until July of 1967 when he found several new jobs. The same pattern was repeated again when the case was reopened in November 1968 because Mr. H was out of work again and it has remained open. It is the opinion of their caseworker that the H family will continuously need supplementary public assistance as long as Mr. H is self-employed in this way.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

Some of the H's friends and family have been on welfare. The general feeling is that it is a necessary evil to be avoided if possible but an important source of help if really needed. Mrs. H summed up her feelings about receiving public assistance in this way: "When I was first separated, I had a baby and could not go out to work. My first husband was not giving me enough to live on so I let the welfare handle things with him for me. At that time, it was a blessing to have some place to turn to for help. That was the only time I ever had to depend just on welfare for money; I hated it. Other times with both husbands someone in the family has always been working and welfare has just helped out. Working helps take the sting out of welfare."

Mrs. H feels strongly that women who are on welfare would prefer to work. She is against the idea of women who receive public assistance remaining on welfare if they cannot earn much more money by working.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 4

Mrs. H feels proud that they manage well with the limited income they have. "We don't owe anybody anything." Mrs. H handles all money matters for the family - an arrangement which seems satisfactory to her husband.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 4

Mrs. H did not work during her first marriage. She explained this by saying that she had too many children too close together. When D, her youngest child was three, Mrs. H found a job at a local garment factory in 1961 because the family needed more money. She was a sewing machine operator and liked the job since she enjoys sewing. Mrs. H did not like the long hours and the low pay. She found the job through the State Employment Service. In December 1965, Mrs. H had to quit working there because she had developed arthritis of the spine. Her doctor said that this kind of factory work aggravated her condition and recommended that she stay home for awhile.

Ten months later in October 1966, Mrs. H went back to work again as a cleaning woman. This kind of work enables her to take breaks when she needs to and gives her exercise when she is on the job. The other advantage of being a cleaning woman is that Mrs. H can determine when she can work and when it is impossible for her to continue because of her ill health. She is in such demand as a cleaning woman that families don't really mind if she stops working for a few months when they know that she will return again. There are six families for whom Mrs. H has worked since 1966. The longest period of time she has worked steadily without needing to stay home has been eleven months. In 1968, Mrs. H was home for five months - the longest stretch of unemployment since she started doing housework. Mrs. H is also able to determine whether she will work full time or part time. Because she is able to work out her own work schedule in this manner, Mrs. H feels that being a cleaning woman is an ideal job for her.

Mrs. H had no difficulty finding families to clean for. Her first employers were family friends. She soon had more requests than she could handle. Mrs. H views her relationship with these families "like a friendship rather than me being an employee. I see these people other times, too, outside their homes."

Mrs. H's mother worked all the time she was growing up. For the past twenty-five years, she has worked at a local factory where she is still employed as a punch press operator. Mrs. H's father was a butcher and then worked at the same place as her mother. He is now retired but has worked all his life. Mrs. H's sister works at a local college as a housekeeper. Her brother in Texas has his own business as a contractor.

Mrs. H's two oldest children from her first marriage are working. L does housework for families like her mother and E works in an auto salvage place.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 5

When Mrs. H first went to work she had four children at home. Two of them were pre-schoolers. A teenager who had dropped out of school and lived close by came to her home to care for the children. She was good to the children, and played with them all day long. "This is something I didn't have time for," admits Mrs. H. She carried out her instructions and was liked by the children so Mrs. H was basically happy with her. After she moved, Mrs. H had two other teenagers who cared for the children in the H home and both were trustworthy. Mrs. H feels that it is very important "to have someone you feel free to leave the children with." For her it is easier to have someone come to her home than to take the children to a family day care home. For the last few years when Mrs. H has worked, she has not needed someone to care for the children because they are old enough to be on their own after school.

Transportation has been a problem in the past for the H's especially when they are both working because they live about ten miles out of town. However, they have been able to manage because they both can set their own hours and schedules with the kind of work they are doing.

The biggest obstacles are working for Mrs. H is her health and her children. Her arthritis not only limits the amount of time she can work each week but also is the determining factor in how long she can continue to work steadily before she quits for a period of time. Mrs. H is very reluctant to leave her other three children unless she knows her husband will be home.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mrs. H has very mixed feelings about working. She is strongly motivated to work because she does not want to be entirely dependent on public assistance. If she quit her cleaning jobs permanently, there are times when the family's only source of income would be public assistance because of the erratic nature of Mr. H's employment. Mrs. H also finds a good deal of satisfaction in the kind of work she is doing and in her relationship with the families. "I like being around all different kinds of people and being their friend." She enjoys her reputation as an excellent cleaning woman who can be trusted and is proud of the fact that she is so "popular" as she puts it. Except for being tired, Mrs. H feels better when she works. She has discovered that many of her worries and problems are similar to those facing others.

However, she really enjoys being home and working on her many projects. She is worried about her health and feels constantly tired when she is working steadily. Also, Mrs. H is worried about her children when she is gone from home so much. "When kids get to be teenagers, they need you at home more than when they are tiny." Her recent trouble with M has made her apprehensive about leaving her other three children unsupervised. Mrs. H also has some generalized attitudes about working which increase her ambivalence toward being employed and have created a conflict within her. She thinks that being a housewife gives more prestige to a woman than working. Mrs. H feels that the ideal way of obtaining an income is to be supported regularly by a husband - an experience she has never had. If she had all the money the family needed to live on Mrs. H "definitely would not work." She broadened this to include most women saying "most women work because they have to. I don't know anyone who works because they want to." She also feels strongly that most husbands don't want the wife to work.

Mr. H would much rather have his wife at home. Like Mrs. H, he is worried about her health and about having one of them home with the children after school. Mr. H is not particularly concerned about his share in the household tasks as a factor in whether Mrs. H works or not. Even when she is home all the time, he still does most of the cooking because he enjoys it. Mr. H does not seem personally threatened by Mrs. H working. He is used to his irregular schedule and short-term jobs and has accepted this pattern as something permanent. Therefore, the fact that Mrs. H sometimes earns more money or works more hours is not important to him. Rather, his objection to her continuing to work is based on health and family reasons.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 5

It is unlikely that Mrs. H will continue working for much longer, even sporadically, as she has done the last four years. Though she likes what she is doing, Mrs. H wants to quit working and stay home permanently. She thinks she "is needed more around the house, especially with the children." Her husband also wants her to stay home. Mrs. H's motivation for staying home is becoming stronger than her motivation to continue being employed. The turning point seemed to come in 1970 when M started running away from home and taking drugs.

The major reason why Mrs. H hesitates to quit working permanently appears to be her strong feeling about becoming more dependent on public assistance. As long as she is working, Mrs. H feels that she is doing her part and the grant from the Department of Social Services merely supplements the income she, and sometimes her husband, have earned. Mrs. H says she feels much more ashamed when the total family income comes from the Department, supplemented from time to time by what her husband makes from his odd jobs. However, familial pressures and her health probably will compel Mrs. H to accept a more dependent status with the Department of Social Services. Her other alternative to not working at all would be to do cleaning for only one or two families each week, and limit her hours to around ten a week.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 4

The effects of working on Mrs. H have been for the most part advantageous. She has gained new friends. One woman, especially, has been helpful in assisting her financially and giving her emotional support when Mrs. H was having some familial problems. Working for families whose life style is considerably different from her own has been a broadening experience for Mrs. H. She thinks of it as "getting out into the world to see how the other half lives." She has found that many of the families for whom she works face similar problems and have the same kinds of strengths as her own family. Mrs. H finds it very satisfying to be sought after because of the good work she does. Mrs. H likes having the kind of job where she can arrange her own hours. One negative aspect in working has been that she is constantly fatigued and worried about her health. Despite her personal satisfaction with her work, Mrs. H has some rather traditional attitudes toward women working which produced conflict within her which have re-enforced her desire to quit her jobs as a cleaning woman.

Working has not interfered with the way in which Mrs. H functions as a homemaker. She is given considerable help by Mr. H and her children. The most frustrating aspect of working having to do with her home is that Mrs. H finds she does not have enough time to devote to all those projects like baking and knitting which she so thoroughly enjoys.

Mr. H has not been overtly negatively affected by Mrs. H's jobs. The fact that she works more steadily and earns more because she puts in more hours does not seem to threaten his role as head of the household. Mr. H enjoys helping around the house and is quite involved with the children whether she is staying at home all the time or on the job. He has taken both the instrumental function of nominal head of the family and some of the pressive functions of homemaker.

In general, Mrs. H is more concerned with her children when she is working than when she is home. Mrs. H wishes she could spend more time with them. Mrs. H tends to blame herself partially because M is on probation. She feels if she had been around home more M would not be so rebellious and "hard to handle." She feels she would have been more aware of M's sctivities and friends. "I didn't realize the kind of kids she was hanging around with until it was too late." Mrs. H feels that she has not been able to supervise the children's work after school or their homework consistently. Her two boys need some adult around to referee their squabbles, according to Mrs. H. While at times her husband is home and able to be with the children, many times he is gone or called away at the last minute.

IMPLICATIONS

In some families, it is more important for the mother to be at home when the children are teenagers than when they are pre-schoolers. This is true with Mrs. H and her daughter M. Mrs. H is now worried about her younger children who are just entering the teenage years and this is her strongest motivation for staying home permanently.

For some families, being able to be partially self-supporting lessens the humiliation of receiving supplementary grants from the Department of Social Services. Mrs. H finds this to be a compelling reason for continuing to work.

Even though Mr. H works more irregularly than his wife and usually does not earn as much as she does in one month, the fact that he is "self-employed" and can be his own boss gives him status in the eyes of his family and of himself.

One alternative for the H family might be to offer Mr. H job counseling and training so that he could find steady employment. Perhaps he could work part time or full time on the maintenance crew of one of the colleges doing the same kind of work he is now doing but on a regular basis.

Again, there is a case of a health problem playing a decisive part in determining the amount and type of work which can be done.

While housecleaning may be a menial task for most women, for Mrs. H it was just the right kind of work because it enabled her to set her own schedule and pace which was necessary because of her back trouble. Since Mrs. H is the kind of woman who relates to others as a friend, these contacts with other families offered her additional opportunities to make new friends.

The complementary relationship which Mr. and Mrs. H have worked out between them seems to be one way for a more competent woman and a less effective man to live together satisfactorily. The complex role reversal seems acceptable to the family with the wife being the steady breadwinner whose income is supplemented by public assistance and the husband being the wife's assistant at home. He is, however, still recognized by his family as the head of the house.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. K AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 3

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 30
Education: 10th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 4 children
3 girls, 1 boy, ages 6 to 12

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation:
machinist, photographer

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on pub. assistance
No. of times case closed: 2
No. of years on welfare: 5

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: sporadic
Skills and training: clerical
Usual occupation: waitress

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 54
No. of full-time jobs held: 9
No. of part-time jobs held: 0
Total no. of jobs held: 9
Longest period of employment: 12 mos.
Average job duration: 6 mos.
No. of months unemployed: 78
No. of periods of unemployment: 7
Longest period of unemployment: 24 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family + 2

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1956				nurses' aide while in school		
1958	child	married	sporadic work history as photographer, mechanic	variety store clerk	case opened, re-opened	
1959	child			movie cashier, 2 waitress jobs laundry, then quit		moved to Maine, 1 mo.
1960	child		deserted family, went to Florida			moved to Utica then Ithaca. After desertion tried suicide. Got counselling.
1961				waitress then stayed home	closed	went to Fla. Children put in foster home for several mos. Then came to Ithaca with them.
1962				home	applied for assistance while moving around	moved to Oregon
1963				rag factory, restaurant		moved to Ithaca
1964	child			waitress		moved to Ohio
1965			opened gun shop	home, then waitress		
1966			deserted family again, then returned	helped in gun shop		all moved back to Ithaca
1967						Mr. K and children in Fla. Mrs. K worked in NYC She went to Fla. and discovered incest
1968		separated			case re-opened to present	Mrs. K and children back to Ithaca. Blood clot develops in leg.
1969		divorce				Mrs. K and son receive counselling together
1970		Mr. K re-married, living in Florida		waiting for job placement from training course		taking clerical training course. Might marry man she is dating.

II. THE WOMAN -- INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 3

Mrs. K has been classified by us as a sporadic worker. She has been selected as an extreme case in this category because in the eleven years of her marriage she has had a total of nine different jobs with several periods of unemployment. She has moved twenty-two times, primarily because of the instability of her husband. During these moves, she has worked at practically every location at a variety of jobs but her most usual occupation was waitress. She has accepted public assistance many times. In 1968 she separated from her husband and in 1969 obtained a divorce. Since then, she has taken training for clerk typist and has been able to bring some stability into the family. Mrs. K is a plain looking, dark-haired woman of thirty. She is heavy and of medium height, and was dressed for the interview in a utilitarian and unflattering fashion. She had a self-confident air as if to say, "I'm me and if you don't like it, it's tough for you." She has four children, daughters D 12, E 11, and F 6, and a son G 10. Several of the children have behavioral problems, some mainly attributable to treatment by their father three years ago. The children are having treatment and are showing some improvement. Currently, Mrs. K is in a relatively stable situation. Her tumultuous marriage has ended; she is dating a pleasant man, and she is awaiting a job where she can use her new skills for which she has had training. She will be glad to go back to work because she thinks it is good for the children to know that their mother works. She is a strong person and has been able to move ahead because of her efforts.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 5

Mrs. K thinks of herself as a strong competent person. She has high self-esteem and realistic ambitions. She has functioned well in moving and job seeking and these situations are not fraught with anxiety yet she rated herself as not at all efficient at getting things done or being organized. While she admits that she can handle most important decisions and complex activities like house hunting quite capably, Mrs. K feels she "bogs down in the day-to-day details."

Mrs. K sees herself as affectionate and tender and sexually attractive. "I'd say my best friends would describe me as quiet, fun-loving, strong, fair, honest. My children think about the same thing plus that I'm lazy and a good cook. My former husband would say that I'm understanding, sexy, strong, a good cook, and a lousy housekeeper."

Formerly, Mrs. K displayed a great deal of passivity in dealing with her husband and feels she still has difficulty in speaking her mind. She doesn't like to oppose people. "I think sometimes I was too sympathetic to my husband. I let him come in and tell me what was happening, say how mistreated he was. Maybe if I hadn't sympathized so much, he wouldn't have quit so easily. I was afraid to go out on my own though and wanted the kids to have a father so I never pushed things and let them be the way he wanted."

Several times in her life, Mrs. K has felt so overwhelmed, weak, and crushed that she literally has had to escape from all her responsibilities. One of these times was the winter of 1960-61 when Mr. K deserted the family after B was born, leaving Mrs. K to cope with three children under three. She was on welfare, lonely, and unable to manage. During this period, she tried to commit suicide and received counseling for a short time. When she finally went to Florida to join her husband in January 1961 she still was not strong enough to handle the three babies, a new job, and the threat of losing her husband. Mr. K was able to talk her into placing the children in a foster home, saying that this was the only way to save their marriage according to Mrs. K. After one of her children had the measles and this was not reported to her, Mrs. K became upset and took the children back. Again, the first five months of 1967 were a period of retreat when Mrs. K allowed herself to be separated from her children. They were in Florida with her husband while she remained in isolation at home in Ithaca. She finally regained her strength enough to earn enough money to go to Florida to get her children - only to be confronted with the incestuous relationship of her husband with her daughters. This was the breaking point for Mrs. K - the worst time in her life." My only regret is that I didn't have him put away. But I was so exhausted and so disgusted that I just wanted to get away and not have anything more to do with him." Not only was her marriage over, but she felt overwhelmed by the burden of being head of the house. "When I was alone in Florida with the children and had to think about what to do now that they were my responsibility alone, I really felt like the end of everything had come."

As if that were not enough, Mrs. K discovered that she had a blood clot which would prevent her from ever doing waitress work again. Mrs. K returned home and slowly recovered her strength and self-confidence in her ability to manage her new life. She is now much less passive and quite independent although still having difficulty asserting herself.

Mrs. K is not too satisfied with her appearance but refuses to play the traditional feminine role. "I think when men say a woman is feminine, they mean she is dainty and always fixed up and pretty. I think that's phoney and wouldn't want it for myself. I think anyone who acts that way is a fake."

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 6

Mrs. K is not fatalistic in her attitude about life. She feels that there is something one can do about the way things are going to turn out in life and this is what she wants her children to feel, also.

There are many things Mrs. K would do differently now looking back. "I should definitely have stayed in school, then I would have had more choices as to what I could do. Now I'm not strong enough to work as a waitress anymore and I sure wouldn't have married him and trotted around after him all those years."

Mrs. K describes her present situation and hopes for the future in this way: "I'd say I'm a lot more self-satisfied now. I've been on my own awhile. I've completed a training course and will be able to get a job other than waitressing. I've helped my children as best I can and I know they're better. Those are things to be thankful for and to believe in yourself for. I know I can get along without my husband. I know I am a better parent than he was and can help them get better from their problems. There's still a lot of improvements to be made, but I think things will keep getting better over the next five years. There's no way that they can get worse."

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

Mr. K seems to be a domineering and self-centered individual, whose whole life revolved around his need to follow his fantasies and rainbows. He did not feel secure enough to accept the challenges and opportunities which came his way so that he could support his family and give them some kind of stability. Instead he had to travel, try this and that, drag his family with him and insisted that Mrs. K help support the family. He felt his children to be a burden that tied him down and hindered him and his wife from doing what they wanted to do. According to Mrs. K, he felt this way: "My husband would have preferred not to have any children. He said that having children tied him down and often he wanted to go off with me and not have the children trailing along. He didn't look after them when he wasn't working and he made them do a lot of the housework so I would have more time to be with him when I came home from work. We often did things as a family but it was for his own selfish reasons. The children had to sit in the car while we were skeet shooting or whatever and I'm sure they were very bored."

Mrs. K acquiesed in all this except for the few times when she refused to find a job when they were living in a new state. He would be able to overcome her reluctance in a few months and she would find herself working again. Mr. K was a machinest and a photographer. He seemed to be able to find jobs the various places he lived but did not hold any of them for more than a few months. Mr. K has remarried and is living in Omaha. He has dropped out of the K's lives completely since the separation in Florida in 1968 and the rest of the family is functioning exceedingly better without him.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 1

For many years, Mrs. K could not seem to stay away from her husband for any length of time no matter how he mistreated her or what she would have to do to stay with him. When he left home and traveled a considerable distance, she would eventually join him. It would appear that her attraction for him caused Mrs. K to sacrifice the welfare of the children in many ways, and kept her with him despite an incredible series of misdeeds. When her husband insisted that the children do the housework so that she could be with him, she did not object. She did not oppose him when their fun was at the children's expense, either. Even more serious were the two times she let him separate her from the children. However, when it came to the discovery of the incestuous relationship, Mrs. K took determined action once she could accept what he had done. She describes this crisis in these words: "The girls told me that their father had been touching them, and the boy knew it, too. Well, I couldn't believe it at first and blamed myself for what happened in many ways. I was always so busy working that I didn't have time to talk to the children. I knew he bothered the babysitters so that I was always having to get new ones, but it didn't occur to me to worry about the children. He had them bulldozed anyway, he was such a sweet talker. He said that if they said anything we would have to get divorced and they didn't want that. After I stopped blaming myself, I woke up and saw what he had really done. I took the children to a pediatrician and had him examine them and he confirmed what they had told me. When I confronted my husband with it, he admitted it, and joked about taking nude pictures of them and things like that. I took the children and went back to Ithaca feeling at the end of my rope. I felt my life was ended." Looking back now, Mrs. K realizes how weak and foolish she was to stay with Mr. K for so many years. It was almost as if she were asking him to constantly hurt her so she could come back for more punishment. She is glad she is stronger now.

When asked in 1969 if she would like to remarry some time, Mrs. K gave a strong negative answer. However, her reaction has now changed a year later. "I'm seeing a very nice man and think we may get married maybe, even though he's paying a fortune in child support and wouldn't be able to support us entirely. He loves kids and gets along well with mine, especially since he doesn't get to see his own very often, so he visits us a lot and goes along on family outings on the weekends." Mrs. K was hesitant about sharing any other information about her male friend except the kinds of things they did together. Their relationship is not that well established.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 2

Basically, Mrs. K gets a good deal of satisfaction from her children and has accepted the maternal role in her own way. She has tried to follow her own definition of a good mother: "I think a good mother is someone who does the best she can for her children and helps them to grow up strong enough to face trouble and disappointment." However, it is only recently that she has been able to do this with any independence and authority. For the ten years of their marriage, Mrs. K was able to handle the concrete aspects of their changes and crises, but not the lives of the children. She tended to side with her husband in putting parental needs and goals ahead of the children. Mrs. K was only able to stand up to her husband in defense of the children when she saw the incestuous relationship as something completely destructive to be avoided at any cost.

One can see how Mrs. K with three children so close together would have extreme difficulty in coping with her children when she had so many other problems to deal with. It is no wonder that at times she had to "drop out." When she was able, she always managed to again return to mothering and being involved with her children.

During the last three years, Mrs. K seems to be functioning in her maternal role in a much stronger way. The general problems faced by the family have mostly to do with the children's emotional health and Mrs. K seems to be satisfied that this is being handled. "I've developed a pretty good relationship with my children since my husband has been out of the household. I'm close with the girls and also with my son, especially since he started having problems in school."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 2

Mr. K's absence from the family is beneficial because more of Mrs. K's attention can be given to the children and the children are living a much more stable life. She states that she knows where her children are most of the time and that she is currently able to spend much more time with her family than she was before while she was working and married. But there are a series of reports and complaints in the case records about her care of the house and the behavior of her children. It appears that they are often left unsupervised at night and they annoy the neighbors. There seems to be a discrepancy between Mrs. K's words and actions in regard to her children.

Despite the inconsistencies, Mrs. K is doing a much better job in bringing up her children during the last three years than she and her husband were doing during the previous ten years. Hopefully, Mrs. K's sense of responsibility and her consistency and understanding in dealing with her children will continue to improve.

Mrs. K does not have high aspirations for her children feeling that the world will be a much harder place in which to live when they are grown. Her only hope is that their lives will be easier and happier than hers has been in the past.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

The girls are very much involved in athletic activities after school, but G, age 10, tends to be a loner. Evenings the children do their homework and when they finish that, then they can watch T.V. The girls are very good in school and her son is doing much better now that he's in a special school and getting attention for his problems. Mrs. K and G attend the Mental Health Clinic together because of his severe behavior problems in school and at home. This was at the recommendation of the school psychologist "after he began going to the bathroom on the floor and stealing things at school." Mrs. K was very concerned about him during the summer of 1970 when she was in the training program and away all day, but he behaved very well as though he knew he had to be responsible. According to Mrs. K, he's a different boy from what he was last year. Mrs. K has developed an exceptionally strong relationship with her son, and revealed considerable understanding of his problems.

D, age 12, has emotional problems manifested in bed-wetting, possibly due to the incestuous relationship she had with her father in 1967. The other two children, F, age 6 and E, age 11 do not seem to have developed similar emotional problems.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 4

Mrs. K feels that at the present time things are going very well between her and her children. She thinks the children get along very well together and with her. It is Mrs. K's opinion that the children think highly of her as a person. The K's have developed numerous common activities such as camping, hiking, bowling, picnics, and outings. These activities have drawn the family much closer together so despite a possible continuing tendency for Mrs. K to put her own good times ahead of the welfare of her children, she has created a family life which is much more organized around the children.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 3

On her last job in Florida in 1967 during the time when she separated from her husband, Mrs. K developed a blood clot on her lung and pains in her stomach. When she arrived home in Ithaca, she had to spend three weeks in the hospital. Aside from this, her health is good. E has a congenital heart condition which does not interfere with her activities.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

Mrs. K has moved twenty-two times since she married Mr. K in 1958. The K's have lived in their present location since returning to Ithaca in 1968. Their house is in a new development and consists of three bedrooms and a large combined sitting room, kitchen, dining area and is very nice. Mrs. K cannot be described as a good housekeeper. The house was not too clean and was messy. The immediate neighborhood is residential with private homes the most prevalent dwelling aside from the housing development.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 4

Mrs. K gives her general attitude about housework in this sentence: "There have always been too many things I wanted to get out and do for me to be real good at taking care of the house." Mrs. K does not feel that housework is a problem for her. She gets some help with most of her tasks from her mother and children except for shopping and does what has to be done with little fuss and only when it is urgent.

Mrs. K rarely purchases new clothing but rather depends on rummage sales or used clothing stores. Occasionally someone gives the family new clothing. Mrs. K shops regularly at a large supermarket.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 6

According to Mrs. K, when she was married her social life and relationships with other people were very restricted. Frequent moves made it impossible to establish lasting friendships elsewhere except Ithaca. The saving feature for Mrs. K was that the frequency of her return to Ithaca to live provided some kind of continuity and stability in relationships for the children and for her. Mr. K also imposed restrictions on Mrs. K. He was very possessive of her time and attention and didn't seem to want to share her with the children or friends. "It was almost like he was jealous. I wasn't ever supposed to go anywhere or do anything on my own. I couldn't even see the girls I worked with after work. I was supposed to come straight home and we never had any friends."

Mrs. K's parents were born in Sweden and came to this country in 1921. Her father was a farmer. Both parents graduated from high school and her mother had one year of college. Mrs. K feels that her parents had a satisfactory marital relationship. Her father died when she was seven. Mrs. K has two brothers and one sister. She feels that they are all more successful financially than she is but not necessarily in other ways. One brother married someone Mrs. K knew from school and she's her best friend.

Now that Mr. K has gone, Mrs. K has expanded her social contacts. She describes her new life in these words: "As far as seeing people goes, I'd say I still mostly stay with my family, if you can include my boyfriend's family as family. We go and visit them quite a bit and go hunting and camping with my relatives - my brother and his son. I regularly visit my sister-in-law or my mother. Some of my relatives I don't seem to get along with, however. In the evenings I go to different activities. Tuesdays,its group therapy with my son, Wednesday I go out bowling and Thursday I go to a dancing class with my boyfriend. Fridays and Saturdays I generally go out with my boyfriend. We do things as a family on the weekends and by Sunday night, we're all exhausted. All these fun times are new for me. It's so different than when I did things with my husband."

Mrs. K's evaluation of her sociality is that her friends outside her own family circle are "just sort of there." She feels that she gets along with people in general and has quite a few casual acquaintances.

A year ago Mrs. K said that there was no one to whom she could turn if she had a problem. Now incase of trouble, she would alk to her boyfriend or her mother about it.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 4

In case of financial crisis, Mrs. K knows that she can turn for help to her one brother who has more money than the rest of the family. She would not ask her mother because she is having a hard time living on her limited income.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 5

Mrs. K is involved with a variety of agencies in the community in addition to the Department of Social Services. She goes to the Mental Health Clinic regularly and is in touch with G's teacher at the special school he attends. Although she only attends P.T.A. once or twice a year, she has conferences with the teachers of her three other children. Mrs. K also used a group for single people as a resource to help her become ready to move out socially on her own. It was during this period that she met her male friend. She is now so busy that she no longer is involved with the singles group.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 4

It could be said that Mrs. K contributes to the recreational life of the community through being on a bowling team and part of a dance class, but she is not an officer or volunteer in any clubs or organizations. She attends church very often.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 2

Mrs. K first went to the local Department of Social Services a month after she was married in May 1958 because she was pregnant with her first child and lost her job. Mr. K was not making enough to support the family. The case was closed in a month because both Mr. and Mrs. K found work. The next opening was two months later because Mr. K had disappeared and she was soon to give birth. This time Mrs. K remained on public assistance for nearly three years until the case was closed in March 1961 because the family moved to Florida. The K's were supposed to notify their worker whenever they moved but did not do so. The third time her case was re-opened was in January 1968 when she separated from Mr. K and it is currently open. The K's also received public assistance other places they lived.

Their caseworkers have found the K family hard to work with. They felt Mrs. K was influenced by her husband so strongly that it was very difficult to help her in any way. Even to see that she obtained her checks was a problem because of moving. It was only when she separated that the Department of Social Services could be of assistance in cooperation with the schools and the Mental Health Clinic. Her caseworker also informed Mrs. K of the clerical training program.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. K does not appear to be overly concerned about receiving public assistance and she is in no hurry to get a job since she finished her training program. The unstable character of her life has forced her to apply for welfare in several different places and she accepts it as a valid way of existing. "I needed to rest after all the battles I had been through and just stay home for a few years. I'm not ashamed to still be on welfare." Mrs. K mentioned, however, that some of her family seemed to disapprove but that doesn't bother her.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 4

Mrs. K feels she handles money well now that she is on her own, but it was different when she was married. "If I had the money, bills got paid; when he had the money, bills didn't get paid. We kept our money separate, but he often spent his on things we didn't need like magazines and cameras. My husband always insisted that I get a job even when he was earning enough money so I didn't have to work. We always had to have extra money for him for things. I remember in Oregon, he found me a job in a rag factory and insisted I take it. This was because he felt that I should help support the family and also that we needed the money so he could pay for a hi-fi set. I just accepted this.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 3

Mrs. K's first job was when she was fourteen, she worked as an aide in a nursing home after school and on weekends. This job lasted until she dropped out of school at sixteen because she was pregnant and had to get married in April 1958. Mrs. K obtained a job in a variety store in June 1958. She enjoyed her position as a clerk in the plant and animal department. Just before her baby was born in October 1958, Mrs. K quit her job and then stayed home for several months after she gave birth to D. In January 1959 she became a cashier at a movie theater for three months and quit because the pay was too low. Right away she found a job as a waitress in one of the dining rooms at a college where her mother worked. This job lasted a few months. "Just like the rest of my jobs." Mrs. K was told she could quit or be laid off. "The reason was, I guess, that I was taking so much time off. The baby would be ill or something and I would have to stay home. My husband didn't like to look after the baby if he wasn't working." Mrs. K found another waitress job at a restaurant in July 1959 working one and a half shifts. She was pregnant again at this time.

It was in September 1959 that Mr. K had his first urge to travel and the family went to Maine for one month and then returned to Ithaca because there weren't any jobs available for either of them. Mrs. K returned to work at the same restaurant until E was born in November 1959, only taking a few weeks out before she began her waitressing job again. In January 1960, Mr. K decided he wanted the family to move to Utica, N.Y. and Mrs. K found work immediately at a laundry - a job which she hated. "They had me doing everything and I wasn't coordinated enough or something so I quit after two months. There was a depression on at the time and my husband couldn't get a job so we got welfare. There weren't any waitress jobs going or I would have worked at that." Mrs. K did not work anymore during 1960. The family stayed for awhile in Utica and then moved back to Ithaca. During this time Mr. K was pregnant again and very depressed. F was born in September 1960. Three small children under the age of three was too much for Mr. K. He left the family and went to Florida, letting Mrs. K know where he was. After a few very desperate months, Mrs. K followed him to Florida in January 1961 and found a job as a waitress. "That was the only money coming in since my husband wasn't working so we had trouble getting along. I had had it managing those three babies all by myself and then traveling all the way down there also all alone. So it wasn't hard for my husband to convince me to put them in foster homes. I was at the end of my rope with my kids and with him and did it to save our marriage. With all this I had to quit work. The K's stayed for a few more months in Florida, both unemployed and living on public assistance but reunited with their children. Then they migrated once more to Ithaca in June 1961 and Mrs. K stayed home with her three children until the spring of 1962.

It was in April 1962 that Mr. K "heard the call of the west" and the family headed for Oregon. Mrs. K refused to go to work after her bad experiences in Florida and stayed home with her children until February 1963 when Mr. K finally persuaded her to find a job. "What are you going to do when he stands there all day and hollers at me to go to work. Talk about nagging women!" Mrs. K worked in a rag factory for five months and then found another position in a restaurant which paid a higher wage; she remained until Christmas 1963. "Then we all got homesick and came back to good old Ithaca for Christmas." Since she was pregnant, Mrs. K did not try to find a job until a few months after F was born in June 1964. The following September 1964 Mrs. K found a waitress job again.

For a short period, there seemed to be some stability in the K family. "We bought a house and it seemed like we were finally settling down. We weren't seeing much of each other; we were so busy working and things were peaceful, I was happy." Mr. K shattered Mrs. K's feeling of temporary security when he announced that he was going to Ohio right after Christmas 1964. As usual, Mrs. K got things together, rented the house and followed him the following month. "I figured with all his faults, he was better than none; but I told him that just like in Oregon, I wasn't going to work - too much trouble with babysitting, especially with such a small baby." Mrs. K was able to hold out through September 1965 against the pressure of her husband to return to work. Finally in October she became a waitress at a country club. "Boy, that was the fanciest place I ever worked!" It was also the place where she worked for the longest period of time - eleven months. She quit that job to help her husband set up a gun shop in September 1966. "I learned all about guns and how to shoot them. That must have scared him, because he took off for Florida again and left me holding the shop all by myself." Mrs. K continued to manage the store until Mr. K returned from Florida right before Christmas 1966. "Guess what happened then. You're right. Back to Ithaca. So what else is new?"

While they were living in Ithaca there was serious marital conflict in the K family because Mrs. K discovered her husband was going out with other women, at the same time that he was restricting her activities and friendships. According to Mrs. K, Mr. K was able to convince the children that it was their mother who was running around and would soon marry another man. They were persuaded to go to Florida with Mr. K in January 1967 while Mrs. K stayed in Ithaca with her mother. "I was too upset and lonely to work or even get welfare. I just stayed home." Then in June 1967 Mrs. K went to New York City and worked for three months as a waitress to earn enough money to go to Florida.

In September 1967 Mrs. K was reunited with her children and found a job as a waitress. She learned from them of the incestuous relationships he had been having with his daughters while they were living with him. This was too much for Mrs. K and helped her make the final break with her husband. Mrs. K quit her job to return to Ithaca, discovering that she had a blood clot which would prevent her from doing any more heavy work.

Mrs. K has not worked since then. In February 1970 she began a seven-month training course for clerk-typists. In September, when she was through with the training program, Mrs. K was placed on a waiting list for job placement. "I don't really want to work but feel I should for the kids. I'm supposed to be next on the list for a job, but nothing yet. I'll be glad to get a job days so I can be home nights with the children. That was the trouble with the waitressing jobs. Working too many nights; also, I can't do waitressing. I'm not supposed to do anything very strenuous or I might die. I need to live for the children's sake and so I want to take care of myself."

Mrs. K's father was a farmer. He had his own farm and sometimes worked for others. After he died, Mrs. K's mother worked most of the time she was growing up in food service jobs or as a cleaning woman in one of the local colleges. "We were extremely poor and I don't think she enjoyed working. She had to, that was all, but I never felt neglected in any way." Mrs. K's sister is a trained secretary, but she doesn't work in an office because she has two children. One brother has emphysema and is on disability insurance. The other brother is very involved owning property in Ithaca. He fixes up houses to sell.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 6

Transportation does not seem to have been a problem for Mrs. K but child care when the children were younger was a tremendous obstacle to her working and a constant worry, especially if she had an evening shift as a waitress in a restaurant. Mrs. K found that sitters who come to her home were usually late and not dependable, making it difficult to arrive at work on time. She couldn't concentrate on her work because she was concerned about the children.

Mrs. K's first preference for day care is to have a relative or friend come into her home. But she was never able to make these arrangements except when she was in Ithaca and her mother cared for the children. When she was working in a city where she did not know anyone, she had to depend on unlicensed sitters whom she heard about through asking around but whom she did not know personally.

Mrs. K was always willing to take any kind of a job. It is only because she has a blood clot that she can no longer be a waitress and has taken training to be a clerk-typist. With her health problem, she was glad to have the training for the clerk-typist and if she has to work looks forward to a job less strenuous than waitressing.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mrs. K's general attitude towards work is rather negative. "Generally I don't particularly like working. The only reason I ever worked was because my husband never held a job for longer than a few months. He made me feel I had to work. But now that I am head of my home, I also feel that it's good for children to know what kind of person their parent is, that she's willing to work to support them, and they can say 'my mother works at such and such a place' so I'm really only willing to work for the kids' sake." If Mrs. K were guaranteed an adequate monthly income, she feels that she would not work at all except as a model for her children. Then her ideal job would be working where I could work only school hours. I would really enjoy bookkeeping or working as a teacher's aide or being a school clerk. If I could have any job, never mind the education, I'd enjoy working with children as a teacher."

As long as she feels she has to work for her children's sake and due to pressure from the Department of Social Services, Mrs. K thinks the four most important aspects of a job are income, working conditions, congenial fellow-workers and the hours. It is not important to her to have a job that is respected or helpful to others. She does not particularly care if she has an interesting job or not, just so it is convenient and fits into her life style.

Discounting the pressures which motivated her to take the training course and to be available for a clerical job, Mrs. K's first preference is not to work. Mrs. K feels that working interferes with her freedom to do as she wants - a luxury she has enjoyed the last three years. The people whom Mrs. K feels are close to her don't care whether she works or not. Mrs. K thinks that being a housewife is more prestigious than being employed when a woman is married. She thinks working then is harmful to the family and to the woman because she becomes too independent and does not have enough time to spend with her children and husband. She feels strongly that a mother should be at home with her children before they are in school although she was not able to do this.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 5

Mrs. K is not living in poverty and appears to be moving upwards on the job scale through a job training program. Her current welfare status is due to Mrs. K's ill health plus lack of skills. Also, problems with the children were pressing and she was not eager to go out and work until she had that under control. She is thus very concerned that her prospective job not interfere with her relationship with her children, especially her son. It is for this reason that she is seeking a job in a school, and preferably an aide type job, so that she would be free after school and in the summers. However, Mrs. K will probably feel she has to take whatever job is offered to her since she has waited so long after the training course is over. In addition, she probably feels that if she refused a job because it didn't meet her criteria, she might lose her public assistance grant. There is a good possibility that Mrs. K will be able to establish a stable employment pattern rather than continuing as a sporadic worker. Her children are being helped and Mrs. K hopes her new job will enable her to continue having more time for them. She now has skills in an occupation which is in great demand in her community. Her self-confidence and assurance that she can make it on her own have increased greatly since her marriage ended. Her emotional energies which used to be absorbed in coping with moving, job hunting, and relating to an unstable husband are now focused on her family and a supportive network of kin and friends. Despite her preference to remain a housewife full time, Mrs. K wants her children to see that she is willing to support them and that their attitudes and experiences with working can be different than their parents.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3

For most of her life working, for Mrs. K, has been a disaster. She has been coerced into being employed when she wanted to stay home with her small children although she did resist for a short time. Her husband insisted that she take jobs in places she didn't want to work such as the rag factory in Oregon. Even when she felt her husband was making enough to support the family, he insisted that she go to work to pay for extra things he wanted to buy; and Mrs. K had to sometimes support the family when Mr. K took off and left them. So for Mrs. K, working has been something which she had to do and it had few positive effects on her as a person, except for the interaction with her fellow employees. In most instances, especially when she was far away from her own family, having to work was just one more burden to be endured.

The effects on the children were also detrimental. Mrs. K had to leave them with unreliable babysitters. She was often gone at night and sleeping in the day so that she had little time to spend with them. Mrs. K feels that some of the emotional problems they have now are because of their past unstable life and because of her frequent absences.

Mr. K was the dominant person in their marital relationship and had great influence over Mrs. K to the point where she was excessively dependent and passive. She followed him many places, putting his demands on her above the children's needs. Mr. K knew that she would support the family if he went wandering or would enable him to buy what he wanted. Because of her submissiveness, he was able to lead the kind of life he enjoyed.

Working never interfered with the way Mrs. K managed her home. Even when she is not working, housework does not have a top priority in her life. Now the effects of working on the K family should be quite different when Mrs. K accepts her job. For the children and for her, employment may offer many new advantages and benefits.

IMPLICATIONS

When a woman begins her working career at menial tasks when very young, with no marketable skills, and no high school diploma, she is almost certain to remain at that level for the rest of her life. This is especially true when she has a number of small children during the first few years after she begins working. One wonders what differences there would have been in this family if there had not been the premarital pregnancy and if each child had been a "wanted" child. What gave Mrs. K a new opportunity to upgrade her work status and skills was her separation from her husband, a health problem which made it impossible for her to continue working as a waitress, and a training program which was available to her. Without these drastic kinds of changes in her life, Mrs. K would have probably remained a waitress the rest of her life.

Health problems can have a great influence on the kind of work one is able to do and, as in this case, serious health problems allowed a respite from work. With the blood clot as a realistic barrier to work, it was possible for Mrs. K to stop working for several years and it gave her the opportunity to successfully cope with some of her family problems including the transition into a new life without her husband. Only when her own life became stable was Mrs. K able to improve her job skills and be prepared to improve her work status. Public assistance provided the financial means for her to achieve this stability and independence.

With Mrs. K, it can be seen that at times the circumstances of life can be so overwhelming that for a temporary period it is impossible for a person to function at any level. Mrs. K was able to use her home in Ithaca as a refuge when life was too much for her and as a source of continuity in her otherwise chaotic life.

Having a husband present is no guarantee of family stability. The K family functioned much better when he was absent. The children can be the victims in a marital relationship when both partners are weak in their own way and do not strengthen each other. What is so significant is that children have an amazing resiliency which enables them to withstand neglect and abuse from weak parents. While the K children do have emotional problems as a result of their unstable home life, they seem to have survived rather well.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. U AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY - 2

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 33
Education: 7th grade
Race or ethnic background: black
Children and ages: 5 children
2 boys, 3 girls--4 to 18 years

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 3
No. of divorces: 2
Husband's age -
Husband's education: 8th grade
Husband's work status: employed
Husband's usual occupation: gun tester

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed: 2
No. of years on welfare: 10

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: not employed
Work typology: non-worker
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: none

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 3
No. of full-time jobs: 1
No. of part-time jobs held: 0
Total no. of jobs held: 1
Longest period of employment: 3 months
Average job duration: 3 months
No. of months unemployed: 129
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 74 months

Chronology showing important changes in the family + 5

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1949				worked in laundry		
1950		married few mos.				
1952	child			hotel cleaning		
1954	child			laundry		
1956		married again			case opened in Pa.	moved to Pa. when husband left her
1957	child			domestic		
1958	child	Mrs. U divorced		at home		
1962		Mr. U divorced 1st wife		occasional domestic work 1 day a week		
1964			gun tester			
1966	child	Mr. and Mrs. U get married		motel maid 3 months	case closed in Pa.	moved to Ithaca
1967					case opened here	son in state school for boys
1969					case closed	

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

The woman in this family is classified as a "non-worker." Mrs. U is a black woman of about thirty five--five feet four inches tall and heavy. She usually is half smiling and this adds to her general appearance of warmth and softness. She is soft-spoken, dresses plainly in shift-like dresses, and fits her own description of a lady. She has had a total of five children ages eighteen (male), sixteen (female), thirteen (male), twelve (female), and four (female). Both her present husband, who is white, and herself, have been married before. They live in a comfortable country home and are devoutly religious. Their church activities are at the center of their social life. Their family is close, except for the older boy who has had problems with delinquency.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 6

Mrs. U characterizes herself by saying,

> "I don't want much,maybe 'cause I only have that one income to rely on--but if I want to do something, there's no one disapproving and nothing to stop me. At least that's the way I see myself now--I don't think other people see me the same way, my kids neither. I can't say how they see me but it's probably different from the way I see myself. Now my husband--now I don't think you want to hear all that...
>
> "I think a lady should be respectful--according to the scripture, a lady's supposed to be shame-faced and some women are real brazen, that's not a lady...I suppose I think I'm a lady--I'm satisfied with most things--myself, my family, my marriage... I think things are getting better too. We're growing older and wiser. A lot of the way things go in the future depend on a person's attitudes...God and the state matter too. God should affect everyone's life but there are some things man has to do for himself."

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 4

Mrs. U feels strongly that hard work pays off. She does not feel that children should be taught not to expect much out of life. She feels children should be allowed to decide the future for themselves and that people can have an impact on their lives - that fate is not going to decide everything.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 7

Mr. U's first job was as a laborer on a poultry farm. He seemed to like the work because he liked being around the chickens and working with his brother and another man. He seemed to have outside contacts with mostly his brother. He went to work because he needed a job, at that time the job he had seemed to satisfy his needs, but he prefers the job he has today over the first job. He attributes the better situation with his job and life to his attempt at living a "saved life." Mr. U is a very religious man and as such is content with his life as it is today.

HUSBAND'S FIRST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT WHEN MARRIED

Mr. U has worked all during his present marriage. However, during his first marriage he was unemployed for about two months because he was laid off by his employer. During these months there were no family problems because they had no children and Mrs. U (first) worked. As far as he knew there were no ill effects of his unemployment on his wife; he remembers no major changes in their relationship. They rented their apartment and so his household tasks did not change to any degree. Mr. U likes to work so he wasn't too pleased with this "free time." His employer called him back to work, which is how he got his next job; he felt very good about working again. He feels that a man gets used to working and it is kind of hard for him to quit.

CURRENT JOB SITUATION

Mr. U would have looked around at different factories in town if his friend from Richford hadn't found him his present factory job in Ithaca. When asked to describe his job, he said he shoots guns - he is a gun tester. He seems to enjoy what he is doing and couldn' t think of any problems with the job. He doesn't feel like quitting his job primarily because he'd rather work, besides, he thinks it would be crazy to quit a job today. He has thought, on occasion, of getting a different job, but would not do this because he feels he has a very good job now. In general, he has a good feeling toward the people he works with but only sees one of his fellow employees at church and has no other outside contact with his fellow employees. He didn't seem to know of any job opportunities at the factory and he didn't seem too eager to find out if there were opportunities for him to get a better job with the company. Overall, he seems to prefer his present job and life over his first job and his life at that time, because now he has better money, working conditions and better people involved with it.

WORK ATTITUDES

Mr. U doesn't seem to have ambition to even think of what kind of job he would like to have. He works mainly because he wants to and also to provide for his family. He feels that even if he had all the money he could use he would still work because he has become "used to it" and feels it would be hard to quit working. He would not even consider going to job training in order to get a better job.

Mr. U feels that the first year or so of his present marriage was the worst time for him due to the fact that it is a mixed marriage and people wouldn't rent to him. As for the best time in his life, he feels that the present is the best because he is better off financially, and family-wise than ever before. He is a unique man in that when he has a bad day he doesn't take it out on anyone. He tries to hide it.

He completed only the eigth grade and feels that if he could change that he would go on at least to high school. He feels that every child needs at least a high school education. Aside from this, he couldn't say what he would change in his life if he could. Mr. U doesn't like to say what other men think, he prefers to stick to his own ideas. When I asked him to tell me what he thought men mean when they say "a woman is feminine," he said, "I wouldn't dare say." He is a very quiet man who more or less believes in minding his own business. He does feel that he can do something to affect the course of his life to some degree.

Mr. U is a very religious man. He believes in taking care of his family and his own life and doesn't believe in butting into other people's business. He seems content with his life the way it is now and especially with his job. He couldn't think of anything he would change in his life if he could, except that he would like to have finished high school.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY   rating 7

For both parents this is a second marriage. Mr. U's first marriage ended in divorce in 1962 and Mrs. U had a common-law marriage that was terminated in 1956. The present marriage was in January 1966 and has been stable up to the present time.

For the most part, he and his wife agree on how the children should be raised, if they ever should disagree, they send the children out of the room and talk it over. He leaves the bulk of the discipline to his wife. He didn't say why this was done but one suspects it is because he isn't around the house much due to his job. He feels his responsibilities toward his children are to love them and care for them. He does this as best he can for all his children. He doesn't see any differences in the way he meets those responsibilities for his sons vs. his daughters. He sees his wife's responsibilities as being to guide the children as they grow up and to guide the house (he didn't say what he meant by this). For the most part, he feels she knows she has to do this but didn't say if she does it or not. She probably does live up to her responsibilities because of the way the house and children are kept. Mrs. U stated,in her evaluation of the marriage,

> "If there's a disagreement about money, it's just like all big decisions--we usually come to an agreement but there's no telling which way the decision will go. It varies. We usually don't argue though--he doesn't do anything to hurt me, that I can think of now--I'm not usually upset by him...I'm quite satisfied with my present marriage and I wouldn't think of remarrying--besides, I'm getting older now too and there's a lot of adjusting that goes into a marriage. That's really the most valuable part--getting to know someone and understanding each other. My husband--he's just happy-go-lucky and I like that."

When Mr. U was asked if he had any problems with his marriage he said that he had a very good marriage and couldn't think of any main problems. Perhaps this is because he doesn't seem to have any problems. He loves his wife very much, and feels it is just "a pleasure being with her." He enjoys marriage and feels that this is the main strength of his marriage.

Mrs.U's reaction to marriage was,

> "I guess things are pretty good now since I got married--we are getting ready to buy this house, and the car--I never had a car before. Things were touch and go most of the time till I got married and came to Ithaca. And my brothers and sisters had it easier than I was having it then. But now my husband's got a job where they rely on him and I think this is the best time."

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 6

When discussing her aspirations for her children, Mrs. U said,

> "I'd like tham all to go to college to be something. Most kids go to college to become hippies and you don't have to go to college to learn that. Why pay that money to dress like that?...we used to call them bums...My husband and I, we don't believe in that kind of freedom, we use discipline, the rod or "stay in your room" or take away privileges...I think my husband is easier to get around, though... If K was skipping school I'd lash him out with a few words and if he kept it up, I might have to use a little physical punishment. But my husband, he'd probably say a few things to K--and probably keep on talking if he did it again. Now as far as my daughter's misbehaving, like if she got pregnant, I've thought about it a lot, but I don't really know what I'd do if it happened--It's something you can't really tell what you'd do till it happens. I don't know what my husband would do either. We wouldn't consider an abortion--and if she wanted one, she wouldn't get my permission--but I don't know what else I'd do. Maybe L would get married. It better be a man with a lot of money because she loves to dress. A job means a lot...Religious beliefs would mean something too. I'd like her to marry a Pentecost and I wouldn't give her my

permission if she didn't--but even if she married someone "outside," I'd still keep in contact with her. Personality means a lot too--I wouldn't want him to be in the street--he should be one who'd be concerned about home and who is able to control his temper. Unless L marries someone with a white collar job, if she marries a common laborer, I guess her economic situation would be about the same as mine--and I've had a pretty good life lately..."

"I've had five children all together--I'd like to have more, about eight or nine, because there's more closeness in a large family. The children have more people to talk to and they learn to get along with each other. But I can't have anymore--I had a cesarian with M and they also took out seven tumors. But children...they're the "flesh of you flesh, bone of your bone." When they get disobedient, set in their own ways, it makes it hard on the mother. My husband, he wanted a dozen children--he just loves kids...We were both upset when I couldn't have anymore--but that's the way it happens sometimes...

"Things with my children are sometimes good, sometimes bad. Now K you can rely on--trust him. But N is a little spoiled because she was the baby till M came. She was also sick--she had her appendix out at four years old and a brain operation at ten. L just went to Erie to live with my brother. She likes it better in Erie and wants to go to a free college there."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

"After school, K has a paper route, he visits the boy next door--he used to be in the boyscouts but dropped that about two years ago. N usually does her homework when she gets home--and she does her own laundry--she doesn't go to clubs or on dates and she doesn't cook or sew either...L usually tries to catch a nap after school, and she sometimes helps me cook dinner. L and K have to do the dishes. M--she just plays with toys. The whole family plays the piano--none of us can read notes but we play by ear. M usually stays with the organ--and we play records and the tape recorder...M knows just where her records are and how to put them on. We don't have more than normal problems, I guess. They're getting to that adolescent stage

> where they're hung between child and adult and that creates tension. L goes to her room alone a lot. But N and K get along well together--they're just a little too young to have these problems yet."

Although her eldest son is in prison, she hasn't had any unusual trouble with her other children. But she has high, and not unrealistic, aspirations for them, including the one currently in prison. He is talking about going to college for electrical engineering when he gets out. According to the case record this oldest boy has always been a school discipline problem and a runaway. He was sent to Industry, December 1967. There is no indication as to the dates of his present imprisonment.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 7

Mr. U would not offer any opinion as to what his children think of him as a person and a father, but he did say that he felt they were a "close family" even though they did not always act like it. His family seems to be pretty well off as far as problems go; he couldn't think of any and I suspect there are only the normal amount of problems for this family. However, he did say that he gets along better with the boys than he does with the girls, but he wouldn't expand on this to any degree. He simply said that he didn't know why this was so, but did say he felt he had the most trouble with his two oldest girls and didn't know why. About the only things they do as a family are to go to church, on picnics and visit other churches in the central New York area. They do these things only as time permits. They eat as many meals as possible together as a family, but this is usually only supper and Sunday dinner. Because of the limited amount of time, he doesn't spend much time, aside from church and picnics, with his children. As for his wife, the time he spends with her is mainly to go shopping and for rides. He wouldn't say how often he does this. He wouldn't say what he thought would be the "ideal" man for his daughters, but he did say that if they had a life like their mother's, they wouldn't be bad off. As for the "ideal" wife for his sons, he felt if they could marry someone like their mother and have a life like his, they would be well off.

Mrs. U's estimate of her husband's relationship with the children was,

> "He likes the kids too and gets along with them real well. He doesn't spend too much time with them except doing things in the yard with K. It's harder for him to do things with the girls--except for M--she's little and just crawls over his lap."

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS - Rating 6

Mr. and Mrs. U are both presently in good health. In the past, Mrs. U had a cesarian and several tumors removed, but she reports that her health condition now is good.

The children are all in good physical health. The young girl had been sick: she had an appendix operation, and a brain operation, but she is now feeling well. The eldest son seems to have some emotional problems that has resulted in discipline problems.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES Rating 6

The U's live in a comfortable home that is well furnished and well equipped. Mrs. U's responsibilities are those of a housewife. She must get her husband ready for work and drive him to work if she has the car, get the children ready for school, do the cleaning and the marketing, prepare dinner, and do other chores around the house. Mrs. U believes that a good mother must also be a good housewife. "...if a woman is close with her children but can't cook or sew, it's no good because the kids have to eat. You know the saying,' The way to a man's heart is through the stomach,' and I believe it."

The home is well furnished for a family. Their are small chairs for the youngest child, a piano and organ, a sewing machine and washing machine, and a freezer.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES Rating 6

> "Everyday I rise at 6A.M. when I fix my husband's lunch and pack it and then fix his breakfast. If I have the car, I take my husband to work. When I come back, I wake the children up one by one so there is no cluster in the bathroom. After they leave, I sew

or straighten up till I have to get the youngest ready for nursery school. Then, I eat lunch, straighten up some more--perhaps I go to the market. The children start coming home around 2:45 till about 3:30. I start fixing supper and I pick my husband up if I have the car that day. We eat around 6 or 6:30. After dinner I read the paper. If it's Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday or Sunday we go to the church--if not, we just relax. In the summer, my husband mowes the lawn and we sit in the yard. We go to sleep around 11 or 12. In general, my husband doesn't do much around the house--I try to shovel the walk in the winter because he's so tired when he comes home from work. I usually look forward to sewing the most, and getting up is the worst. Friday is grocery day and I look forward to that. And I kind of look forward to Sunday, but it's such a tiring day...Monday is always an unwinding day and I don't like to schedule anything. If I have any leisure time in the summer, I relax on the porch and in the winter I bake and sew."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT Rating 6

Mr. and Mrs. U both support each other. They rarely disagree with one another, and speak freely to each other if there are any problems. Both confide in each other about the day's activities. Mrs. U does not see her relatives much because they live out of town. Both her parents and Mr. U's parents are dead.

The social activities revolve around the church. They go to church almost every evening. They have a few friends, mostly couples from the church, who occasionally visit them. If Mrs. U has problems, she speaks to the pastor about them.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT Rating 4

Mr. U's income is enough to support the family. Mrs. U used to worry about not paying bills, but she claims that now if she can pay them she does, and if she cannot pay them, she doesn't, without worrying about it. They are financially comfortable and are planning to buy a new house and bought a car. The family keeps a budget so that there bills are paid. For extra money, Mr. U works overtime. They always make offerings to the church.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES Rating 4

The U family is extremely active in the church, attending it regularly and participating in its many functions. In addition to going to their local church, they also visit neighboring churches in New York State. They also use the facilities of the community by visiting the parks and zoos, and using the picnic facilities of the community.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMUNITY Rating 5

The U family makes regular offerings to the church, thus contributing to its upkeep. One of the U children is working in the community, delivering papers to local residents.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS Rating 2

Mrs. U and her children were receiving public assistance when they moved to Erie, Pennsylvania, from 1956 to 1966. In 1966 the U family applied for welfare because of a problem with debts, but were denied help due to Welfare's opinion that the family had sufficient funds to live on. At that time Mr. U was no longer working overtime and without the additional money he could not meet his debts. From March of 1967 to June of 1969, the family was receiving financial assistance. Their case was closed because Mr. U began making enough money to support the family. The family, since that time, has not needed public assistance. The U's are living comfortably on the earnings of Mr. U.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENTS Rating 3

Mr. U believes in the necessity of work, and because of this he believes that a man should be able to support his own family. However, he realizes, as happened to himself, that crises arise that force a family on welfare. Mrs. U expresses her own attitude in the following remark.

> "I was on Welfare then--it was a helping hand. They must know what they're doing there or they wouldn't still be in office. Some friends of mine are on Welfare and I guess they think it's a good thing too. I think Welfare should pay bills but they don't have to pay for extras--like carfare--too.

> You can always get a ride. I think it's a good system. Lately, I'd only change little things, like I'd like to buy food stamps a little at a time because I don't always have money for the whole month. I like the way things are in general, too."

Mrs. U realizes the importance and necessity of a public assistance program. She is not very critical of the present program, only mentioning the difficulty a family has in paying the lump sum payment for food stamps.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES Rating 6

The U family is presently living comparitively well on the earnings of Mr. U. They are planning to buy a house soon, and meet all their bills. In order to ensure the payments of rent and bills, the U family has devised a budget system. When the family needs extra money, Mr. U works overtime in the factory.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS Rating 2

Mrs. U summarizes her work experience in the following statement.

> "I was born in 1936 in Erie, Pennsyslvania. From as long as I can remember, my dad ran a rummage business--he owned his own. My mother didn't work though, she had five children and stayed home till I was old enough to go to school--I was the youngest. When I went to school all day she went to work all day. I think she did hotel cleaning work. I guess she went to work because we needed some more money. (Those were rough times, back them. Times have changed... so I remember needing a stamp or coupon to get sugar and shoes. I don't remember exactly what it was, but I remember needing something to buy sugar.) She did, my mother, that work till I was in about sixth grade. I don't remember much about it though, since I was so small--don't even remember why she stopped. About two years after that, that was when I got my first job. It was around 1949, first half of the eigth grade. I worked in a laundry with some other teenagers from the neighborhood--not in the neighborhood of the laundry, we all lived in the same neighborhood. We worked after school and on Saturdays mostly. It was a nice job. It's always nice to have a little more money around, and I knew these other girls. There wasn't much to do for fun after work. We weren't

on the street like kids today. We'd visit each other and talk, but we didn't go out much. Mostly, I like to be alone so I didn't care much . I was left pretty much alone at the laundry too. I guess I'm a loner.

I stayed at the laundry about a year and then quit. I don't remember why, I know they sold the place later but I don't know if that had anything to do with quitting. Then I guess I just went to school for another year. I quit school at fifteen when I got married. I guess I just didn't want to go to school anymore. I left town for a while; that was when I had my first son. I was sixteen. Little while later, I moved back to Erie with my parents. That marriage wasn't one of those that lasts thirty or forty years, we split up and I took my son back home. I needed some money so I took another job. I worked in a hotel and my mother took care of my son. She did a pretty good job, grandmothers usually do. That didn't last very long, about six months. I was fired. I guess that's not a very good thing to say, but I was. She said I wasn't doing the job right, but I was doing it like the girl showed me. I liked the job enough, about the same as I liked the laundry job. I could do things at my own speed; I guess it was something about doing with my hands too. But, I wasn't much in the mood for working. After I was fired, I stayed at home for about a year or two, quite a span in there. I really wasn't doing much socially, nothing to be proud of. Two years after my son was born, I had another child. About that time I went back to work, in a dry cleaning store. I knew how to press pants from the laundry and then I learned to do shirts and coats. Never did get the dresses--they're the hardest to do. I worked in the dry cleaning store from 9 a.m. to 3 or 4 in the afternoon and my mother took care of both the kids. I spent all my free time taking care of them too. Once in a while I'd like to go to the show, I'd go alone. I just like being with myself. About two years after I started the dry cleaning, I got married again and got pregnant. I don't remember that had anything to do with it, but I think I quit the dry cleaning when I was pregnant. After the child was born I'd help out the boss's wife with her cleaning, the boss of the dry cleaning, but most of the time I was at home. Another child was born two years later, in 1958. I didn't go back to work for about another six years when I separated from my second husband and went on welfare. By this time, both of the youngest children were in school, but the welfare regulations didn't allow me to have a job. I managed to do some domestic work about one day a week. I liked that kind of work because I was alone, could manage my time, leave early if I finished early. In 1966 I got married to my present husband and we moved to Ithaca. I met him through the church. We are in the same diocese and I met him at a council since that was almost the only thing I went out for. My present husband didn't expect me to work and didn't want me to either, but I took a motel job for a short time after we moved her. I only worked four or five hours a day, not every day, at cleaning. I was pregnant then. When she was born, I quit working because my husband didn't want me to continue. Sometimes when I'm tired and have a lot to do at home, I like not having to get up in the morning and go to work. I have more time to do things at home.I never did like the idea of leaving small children at home alone. Sometimes, though, we need shoes at the same time, and someone needs to go to the dentist and someone else needs something for school, then I feel it might be nice to have a little extra money. If I could have one of my jobs back again I'd like the dry cleaning. If I could choose any job in the world, I'd like to sew or draw interior designs on paper but I don't know if I have the qualifications or how I would do it. So, now, why am I even thinking of that. My husband just won't hear me talk about work anyway."

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES Rating 5

Though Mrs. U expresses an interest in working, her greatest obstacle is her husband. Mr. U does not believe that a woman should work if she is supported by a man, and believes that a mother should be at home with her children. Mrs. U's resources are her own skills at sewing, and her prior experience.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENTS Rating 2

Mr. U says that he wouldn't have her take a job, and certainly not a full time job. He feels that if his wife wanted to go to school for something else other than job training, he would let her but since he won't let her work, he sees no sense in having her go to school for job training. When questioned about how he thinks other men react to this problem of having their wives work, he wouldn't commit himself to any answer, and said he didn't know. He does not help out around the house too much, except for lawn care and painting, so having his wife work 3 or 4 hous a day as a part time teacher does not affect the home schedule too much. She is always home when he gets there. He feels his wife would not care if she worked or not and as for the thoughts of friends, he says he hasn't heard anyone say anything. He feels the only advantage to having his wife work is the extra money it brings in and when asked about any disadvantages, he couldn't think of any. As for feeling threatened by his wife's job, he says the feeling is not there because the job is only a part time one. If she had a full time job he might feel differently. In general, he feels that the woman's place is in the home.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 3

Mr. U seemed to be fairly hopeful about the future for him and his wife. He also said he did not know for sure how things would be in five years from now.

XI.CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3

As a rule, Mrs. U only worked when she needed the money badly and when there was some way to care for her children available to her. With several small children, she did not work although when she needed the money she went on welfare. She does not work now and feels that she ought not to. Only an occasional scarcity of money will make her consider it, but she doesn't actually return to work. The notion that women should not work, held by her and her husband, is too strong to force her to return to work in her present monetary condition. She has a neutral to positive attitude about her former jobs. Mrs. U has a somewhat conservative attitude concerning welfare, perhaps because she got off and is doing fairly well. She considers it a welcome help in time of need, but not as long as a means of support exists.

IMPLICATIONS

This case is particularly interesting since there is such a full account of the husband, often in his own words. It was very difficult to get interviews with husbands and to see how they feel about wive's working or not working and about how they feel about their own lives.

Since Mrs. U has a preschooler, pre-teenagers and teenagers, she must be the appropriate mother for all of them and is involved in being a good mother. Her only major roles include homemaker, mother and church-goer. She is very concerned about all three roles and according to her children, her friends, and her fellow church members, she is a success. These roles tie her closely with her family which may be manifested in her dislike for day care as a solution for herself when she was a working mother and her "glow" when describing her husband's involvement with the children, her rather traditional view of appropriate sex role behavior, and her concern over the quality of her mothering. However, although she wants to do her best for her children, she does not have grandiose aspirations for them. A college education, to her, is desirable, but is mostly a decision which must be made by the child himself. Economically, while her position has improved, she feels that it is highly possible for her children to remain working class people. She wants a good life for her children, without having to experience the hardships she has endured. This attitude seems to stem from recent satisfaction of many of her life's goals. Such an accomplishment also makes her satisfied with herself. She is what she thinks she ought to be; she is quiet, not meddlesome, church-going, and somewhat withdrawn. She interacts occasionally with relatives and more frequently with church friends. She is rarely involved or concerned with society in general; she feels it is decaying. However, if she were to indulge in it, she might make use of job training or employment services for her husband, and educational programs for her children. The older ones could be prepared for college, if they want to go, or they could be trained in a highly skilled job. The preschooler is attending nursery school now as preparation for first grade. The fulfillment of these goals,--a more desirable job for her husband, and the education of her children should make her a content woman.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. O AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970) + 2

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 33
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 7 children
4 boys, 3 girls--ages 1 to 11 yrs.

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: none
Husband's age:
Husband's education: 12th grade
Husband's work status: unemployed
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed: 2
No. of years on welfare: 5

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: non-worker
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: none

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: -
No. of full-time jobs: -
No. of part-time jobs: -
Total no. of jobs: -
Longest period of employment: -
Average job duration: -
No. of months unemployed: 132
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 132 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family +4

Year	Birth date	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1952				waitress while in school		
1955				waitress		
1956		married	carpentry and construction work			
1959	child		custodian			
1960	child					back injury Mr.O hospitalized
1961	child				case opened	Mr.O in hospital
1964	child		carpenter		case closed	Mr. O hospitalized
1966			policeman			
1967	child					
1968					case opened	Mr.O in hospital
1969	child		clerk		case closed	Mr. O hospitalized
1970	child					Mr. O hospitalized

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating +6

Mrs. O is thirty-three years old and in excellent health, according to her own description. She is fairly tall and attractive and of sturdy build. Mrs. O is a cheerful, intelligent woman. She is extremely polite and gracious. She appears to have a very affectionate relationship with her seven children and is very patient with them. Mrs. O feels that a woman's place is in her home with her children, and she would not consider working. Although not on welfare now, she and her family have received public assistance off and on since her husband sustained a back injury ten years ago. She is humble, and has stated that welfare has taught them "to take." She feels that she would not be on welfare if there no children - that she and her husband alone would somehow manage - but that the children must be taken care of. A Protestant, she is religious and frequently makes references to the fact that she takes comfort in it.

The O's have seven children, five boys and two girls, ranging in age from a boy twelve to the youngest boy, age one. Three are still pre-schoolers. The family is happy and close-knit. The family lives in a small but comfortable home they own in a nearby village. They are now living on Social Security, Workmen's Compensation, and surplus foods and managing very well on their limited budget.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 3

Mrs. O is a happy woman, healthy-looking,and has an attractive and pleasant face. Mrs. O is extremely polite and gracious. She does not have much self-esteem, and she feels she is a poor organizer and arbiter. She claims to be inefficient, timid, and unambitious and feels that she has not one worthy salable skill. Mrs. O also stated that she has no talent for finances. Some of the things she has said regarding herself, are in direct contradiction to other information about Mrs. O. The interviewer thought she was quite efficient in doing her housework, and she keeps peace among the children. She also manages the household budget well. Although she is far from aggressive, Mrs. O is opinionated in a number of subjects, and if she disagrees with someone about these things, she would not hesitate to say so.

The only really positive image Mrs. O sees about herself is what she thinks that others think about her. Although she hesitated because it sounded "too conceited," she finally told me that most people would describe her as "helpful" and "patient." Her husband might say she was "kind" and "considerate," and her children, "loving" and "nice."

Mrs. O thinks a "feminine" woman is one who is dainty and petite and helpless. She, therefore, does not consider herself to be feminine since she fits neither description. It is interesting that her concept of femininity had nothing to do with roles, personality, or self-image, but concentrated solely on a physical description of the word.

Although she is not free to do whatever she wants, due to her responsibilities to her family, she does not feel at all hemmed in or dissatisfied. Mrs. O truly appears to be a happy and sincere person. She is contented with her life as a wife, mother, and homemaker and she desires little more. Although a little more money would come in handy, basically she feels that she and her family have what they need.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 3

Life for the O family has been fairly consistent. Mrs. O says that they have their "ups and downs" but that usually things are the same. The worst times are during her husband's illnesses. Things are pretty much the same now as when they were first married. The worst time for Mr. O was the first time he was injured and the best time in his life was just after school when he had fewer responsibilities.

Both Mr. and Mrs. O do not believe they are the master of their fate or that they have much control over the things that happen to them. "This control is in God's hands and all we can do is to make the best of it. It does not do much good to have ambitions which are not part of His plan."

Mrs. O is content to focus her attention primarily on whatever she is doing at any given moment. Thoughts about the past or future are rare. Her husband's illness is partially responsible for this. His condition is quite complicated and with the sudden changes that often occur with it, Mrs. O feels she must plan from day to day. She does not know from one week to the next if he will be recovering or need more surgery.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mr. O is thirty-two years old and is a tall , somewhat husky man. He looks robust, although his back is quite delicate. Mrs. O says he is considerate, hard working, and honest. He thinks his friends would describe him as a kind and generous person. Mr. O seems to be an excellent father. The children respect him and obey him. He spends a lot of time with them, especial now that he is confined to his home.

Mr. O graduated from high school and would have liked to have gone on to college if he could have. Instead,Mr. O had his first job on the dairy farm he took over from his father when he retired. He says that he enjoyed all phases of farming and couldn't think of any that he didn't like. He decided to take over the farm because he wanted to work at something he liked and farming provided this opportunity. Mr. O says the people he worked with were "great". He would see most of them in church and at the fire department where he was a volunteer fireman.

Mr. O used to do carpentry and construction work before he injured his back on the job ten years ago. He also worked as an assistant to a private contractor, as a custodian, and at a recreation center. After the injury, he worked as a carpenter, a clerk, and as a policeman. For the past two years he has not been able to work. He would like to get a job soon,preferably out of doors. However, he is willing to do anything. He is also considering data processing school.

Mr. O is a very active man and his current back injury is a great handicap on that activity. He is also a deeply religious man who has great faith in God and is resigned to believe that anything that happens is His will. Mrs. O said that his faith has helped him through a great deal of pain and trouble since he hurt his back.

Mrs. O's husband's operations and long periods of confinement have been very difficult for Mr. O. Not only is he bored when he has to stay in bed, but Mr. O feels that the man of the family should be the breadwinner. He feels guilty about this, as this idea of the husband working is valued highly by both Mrs. O and him.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 7

Mr. and Mrs. O were married a year after they both graduated from high school. They have been married for fourteen years. In that time, there have been no separations other than those necessitated by Mr. O's illness. They seem quite close and agree on most things, according to both Mr. and Mrs. O. They rarely have severe arguments and there is no one thing that is a constant source of friction. When Mrs. O disagrees with Mr. O and "knows" she is right, she will not give in to him. If she realizes she is wrong, she does admit it. She tries very hard to be considerate of her husband, especially since his injury. She does not mention or blame him for the fact that they were on welfare. Mr. O treats his wife accordingly. In general, they seem to get along quite well and have similar personalities. Major decisions such as where to live are decided by Mr. and Mrs. O together with Mr. O having the final say. Mr. O feels the main strength of their marriage is their church membership. Both Mr. and Mrs. O seem to be quite happy with their marriage and each other. Mrs. O says if she had it to do over again, she would marry him.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 7

Although the O's had planned on only two or three children, they are very happy now with seven and quite devoted to them. Mrs. O is remarkably patient, and usually does not show when she is annoyed. The children are quite affectionate with her.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 6

All of the children are amazingly well behaved, and disciplinary problems are rare. The O's feel that showing approval and gentle encouragement are important. One of the primary reasons that the O children are so well-adjusted, affectionate, and agreeable is the fact that their parents refuse to push them unnecessarily. The children know what their parents approve of and they respect their wishes, and for these reasons they try to please them. The mutual respect that the O's hold for each other as human beings is responsible for the way they behave toward each other.

Mr. and Mrs. O agree about child-rearing practices. Although Mrs. O is primarily responsible for day-to-day training, if she needs it, Mr. O will back her up. Mrs. O says that she and her husband are equally strict but try to be fair in disciplinary situations.

Mrs. O believes that young people should defer to their parents without question, and she has at least half say in what her children do, see, and wear. Mrs. O keeps close track of them and always knows where they are. She respects her children, however, and would never humiliate them. When they do misbehave, after asking for an explanation initially, she does not keep reminding the offender of his misdeed. As long as her children are mannerly, obedient, and kind to each other, Mrs. O is happy. When she is pleased with her children, she doesn't hesitate to praise them. The O's strongly disapprove of teenagers skipping school, staying out late, or getting into any kind of trouble with the law. Mrs. O said that if she ever found out that her oldest son was a companion to other teenagers who smoked marijuana, she would forbid him to see them again.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

The children are attractive, big-eyed, blonde children, who are quite neat and clean considering their vigorous play habits. Mrs. O feels her children are happy and have no special problems. The only time Mrs. O's children were upset for an extended period of time was recently when their father was in the hospital for nearly a month. The younger ones, especially, did not understand, and missed him. Mrs. O said that as soon as her husband returned, the children became cheerful again.

Mr. O would like his sons to be more active in sports than he was, maybe play professionally. The only definite aspirations Mrs. O has for her children is a "good" marriage.

The oldest boy is in junior high school and is an average student. Mrs. O says that he helps her around the house and is quite well-behaved. Mrs. O approves of his circle of friends. This son said that he did not mind that his parents had the final say in his activities. He thinks they are fair and often voluntarily consults them when he needs someone else's opinion.

The second boy is an above average student and like his older brother helps around the house. He thinks he would like to be a contracting engineer because he likes to build things and because his father was in a similar line of work.

The third child is the oldest girl and is an average student. She is well-behaved and likes to help her mother around the house. She thinks she would like to become a nurse. P is in the first grade. Q, R, and S are pre-schoolers. They seem to get along exceptionally well with each other. They play by themselves and occasionally come to their mother to show her something or just for a hug.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 7

The O's exhibit a great deal of family solidarity. The parents usually agree on matters concerning the children. Their values are similar. They believe in simple living without unnecessary luxuries, the importance of their religion, and that the wife should stay home to care for the children. Mr. and Mrs. O are close to their children, and the latter feel free to talk with them, to ask for advice, and to show them affection. All nine members of the family eat meals together except lunch, when the four school-age children eat at school. The O's spend a good deal of time at home together, and they attend church together regularly. Mr. O tries to play sports with his children as much as possible and take them hunting and fishing.

The O's have established a definite relationship of mutual respect with their children and try to be friends with them. They want their children to feel free to come to them with problems or share in new adventures and fun. The backgrounds of Mr. and Mrs. O explain the great solidarity that they have with their family now, as well as some of their attitudes concerning the role of mother and father.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 4

Mrs. O and her seven children are all in excellent health. Mr. O injured his back severely on the job ten years ago when he slipped and fell. There have been complications and he has required repeated hospitalization and surgery. Mr. O is physically unable to work, as even moderate amounts of activities sometimes cause him to strain himself. Mr. O has been in the hospital ten or twelve times since 1960. He goes to a private physician, an orthopedic surgeon. Mr. O is confined to his bed most of the time. Sometimes if he is feeling strong, he takes a short walk.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

The Os' house, in a nearby village, is a modern, one-story building nicely painted on the outside. They have a small grassy front yard and there is a good deal of grass and wooded area behind the house. The nearest neighbor is a half-mile away. Many of the houses in the "neighborhood" are new. There is also a farm, around two miles up the road, which maintains both crops and animals. The house contains seven rooms - a living room, a modern well equipped kitchen, a dining room, three bedrooms, and a bathroom. The seven children share two bedrooms. The furniture is a mixture of odds and ends, most of which was probably not purchased new by the O's.

The O's built their house themselves on some land they purchased from Mr. O's father soon after their marriage. They made the house fairly small because, originally, they had not been planning to have such a large family. Mrs. O stated that physically she feels quite cramped in her home.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. O tries hard to keep the house in good condition, and she is a conscientious housekeeper. With seven children around, however, the house easily becomes untidy. Her eldest son often helps her with dinner. Each of the four older children has an assigned household chore, which he is expected to perform regularly. Mr. O helps around the house when he is able to do this.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 6

Mrs. O was adopted. Her adopted parents' ancestors came here many generations ago. Mrs. O is close to her parents and brother. They all live nearby and sometimes have meals at each other's homes. Mr. O sees his own brother and three sisters often. He feels close to all of them but most especially to his mother and to his brother because they are alike in many ways. Mr. O's father is dead. His mother who is quite elderly lives alone in Florida, so he rarely sees her.

Mrs. O sees her friends occasionally. They visit her home sometimes and she sees them every week at church. Most of her friends are married and have small children. Social visiting is confined to her own home as it is difficult for her to find a babysitter. She and her husband rarely go out at night for much the same reason. Also,his recurrent back trouble prevents them from a great deal of socializing.

Outside of his family, Mr. O usually sees a few friends several times a year. They visit or go hunting or have meals together. On the weekends he usually goes to church, visiting,or to ball games. When he's by himself he likes to hunt and fish and do a little gardening.

Mrs. O does not have any real hobbies because she has little spare time. She reads the daily newspaper, sews occasionally, and spends the rest of her time keeping house. Mrs. O wishes she had more time to read.

Mrs. O does not like to give advice to others,but if she feels she really needs help with a problem, she turns to her husband, minister, or to the "Lord Jesus." Mrs. O has great faith in her religion. If Mr. O were in trouble or needed advice, he would go to church people. He says that people come to him for help and advice on all kinds of things.

The O's are very down-to-earth, unpretentious people. They do not believe in trying to be something that they are not. They are not particularly status conscious. Most of their friends have similar life styles and incomes.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 5

The O's receive no financial aid from relatives.

VIII.COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

The main social agency that the O's have been involved with is the Department of Social Services. Mrs. O also goes to P.T.A. and has conferences with the teachers of her children.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 6

The O's do not belong to many formal organizations. They are deeply religious protestants and attend church regularly. They see the church primarily as a place of worship. They do not participate a great deal in activities there. Mrs. O very briefly did some sort of church-affiliated volunteer work, and the oldest son belongs to a youth group. The church once gave them a "food shower" when they were in financial straits.

Mr. O belongs to a workers' union. He used to be a volunteer fireman but isn't anymore, due to his back. Mr. O feels that if he were more active in the little league and church work, he could improve the community.

When she votes, Mrs. O decides on the candidate herself unless she knows nothing about them. In that case, she lets her husband decide. Mrs. O voted in the last election because she feels that it is one of the main ways that citizens can voice their opinions.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 2

The O's went on public assistance in 1961 after Mr. O sustained a serious back injury on a construction job. His surgery and hospital fees were paid for by Workmen's Compensation. After the injury, Mr. O worked when he was physically able, although his frequent and necessary bouts with hospitalization and surgery caused him to lose several jobs. Welfare payments were fairly constant until 1966, when Mr. O became employed again. In 1968, he again required hospitalization, and the family once again needed assistance. In 1969, their case was closed. Although Mr. O has not worked in two years, he now receives social security disability payments, aid from Workmen's Compensation, and food stamps. For these reasons, the Department of Social Services payments were no longer warranted. Mrs. O feels that their current income is sufficient.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

Although Mrs. O did not really feel "right" accepting welfare checks for herself and her husband, she felt that they had to for the children's sake. They do not try to hide the fact that they once were welfare recipients. Mrs. O feels that the Department of Social Services program is "good" and could suggest no improvements. When her family was on welfare, Mrs. O thought that the money they received was enough, and she disparages those who "try to take advantage by asking for more money." Mrs. O thinks that $6000 for a family of four is ridiculously high for a welfare recipient.

Mr. O feels the welfare system could be improved by establishing more local control over the aid. He feels "the local people are more capable of knowing the situation among their neighbors than someone hundreds of miles away. The good aspect of welfare is that it does help people, but that there are people who are just lazy, who shouldn't be on it." Mr. O doesn't like being on welfare and would much rather pay his own way.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

Mr. O handles the bills and the money except when he is laid up with his back; then his wife takes over and manages her budget well. Mrs. O is not frivolous or extravagant. Her husband allows her to spend money as she needs it. The children are given no set amount of weekly spending money. Mrs. O buys them what they need.

The Os' life seems to be comfortable enough, in that their important material needs are all being fulfilled. They have enough to eat, a house that is comfortable, which they own, some land, and a 1963 car.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

Mrs. O has not worked since she was a waitress while in high school. She does not want to work now, and she and her husband both feel that a woman's place is in the home, caring for the children and the house.

The women in Mr. and Mrs. O's respective families have never been expected to work. Mrs. O's mother taught kindergarten briefly when Mrs. O was a child, but her mother did not like it at all and quit. Her father was a printer for most of his working life. Mrs. O said that her family then was as well off as her family now. Mr. O's widowed mother is seventy-six and does not work. When her husband was alive they had a farm where the entire family had chores. All who were old enough were expected to pitch in.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 3

Mrs. O is not too familiar with the concept of day care, however, she thinks it is a good idea for women who do want to or who must work. Mrs. O will probably never seriously consider a day care center as she would rather stay home with her children than work and leave them with strangers. If she worked, Mrs. O could bring in very little money since she is virtually unskilled. A large portion of what she did earn would have to be spent for child care because Mrs. O has three pre-school children.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

Mr. O feels that some women work because they want to, some because they enjoy it, some to keep busy and some just to get away from the house. He says that most husbands probably like this because of the extra money coming in every week, but he doesn't believe in it and hasn't allowed his wife to work at all since they have been married. Around the house, he helps out with the dishes and the children whenever he can and feels that this is good experience for a man. It gives him a better understanding of his wife's job during the day.

Mrs. O does not think that the children of working mothers can possibly get enough maternal attention. She feels that the children of a working woman are more likely to "get into trouble" than are her own children. Ideally she sees the husband as breadwinner. "He should have a steady job and be able to support his family. I don't care what he does, as long as he is happy with it."

Mrs. O apparently harbors no desire to work, whether or not she had children, because she feels that she cannot do anything skilled. She stated that if she had to work, it would either be caring for other people's children, or perhaps as a secretary. If she had the proper training, she thought she might like to try nursing.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 2

Mrs. O apparently does not possess many salable skills. She has practically no training as a secretary-clerk. If she were to take a full-time job now, it would probably have to be non-skilled and low-paying, such as keeping house for someone. Her earnings from such a job would be consumed by the cost of a baby sitter for her seven children. Mrs. O will probably not take an outside job in the near future. She feels it would not be worth leaving her children in order to work, since they appear to be very happy at home. This might possibly change if Mr. O finally had to face the fact that he could never work. Rather than be completely dependent on government sources of income, Mr. O might eventually feel forced to allow his wife to work. This situation would be very destructive to his sense of being the breadwinner and head of the household. Mrs. O would not feel comfortable about helping to support the family, either.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 4

Mrs. O has no latent desires to work. She is genuinely happy in her roles as wife and homemaker and mother. There are no apparent hidden strong feelings that she is a failure because she can't help support the family in this period of special need. She does not feel trapped at home and instead thoroughly enjoys being there with the children and her husband. Because of these honest and undisguised feelings, working probably would have only negative effects for Mrs. O and her family.

IMPLICATIONS

The O family is representative of the good old-fashioned virtues of the husband supporting the family and the wife remaining at home taking care of the children and house. Both parents are happy, and their relationship with each other and the children sounds as though their religious background and stable family has paid off.

Mrs. O feels she is unskilled and could not do anything if she tried to get a job. It would seem, though, as her children get a little older, she would be an excellent day care mother. She has been able to maintain a loving, supportive and orderly environment for her own children and could undoubtedly do this for other women's children either in her home or at a center.

The O's have a neat home on land they own, and things would have worked out well for them with their good management skills if it had not been for Mr. O's serious injury. Even with the large number of children - beyond their plans when they built their home - they apparently could have lived on even a low income. One wonders if they knew about Planned Parenthood or would have used it if they had known. There is no mention of this in the record.

Mr. O seems to be the type of man who would really profit from job training in work which did not require exertion which would be detrimental to his back problem. Mr. O is a high school graduate and the record shows he has considered data processing school. He could apply for help through the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation.

Overall, this is a well functioning family doing well with the resources at their disposal but not sufficiently aware of additional avenues to take to further improve the functioning of the husband.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. L AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 2

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 48
Education: 12
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 4 children
  1 son, age 28 and 1 girl, 27, not living at home
  2 girls, 17 and 12, at home

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: none
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: 8th grade
Husband's work status: employed
Husband's usual occupation: construction worker

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed: 1
No. of years on welfare: 1

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: non-worker
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: none
The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: -
No. of full-time jobs held: -
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: -
Longest period of employment: -
Average job duration: -
No. of months unemployed: 132
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 132 mos.

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1940				domestic, live-in		
1941		married				
1942	child					
1943	child					
1953	child					
1958	child					
1968						Mr.L injured foot and knee, blood clot Mrs.L developes bladder trouble
1969					case opened and closed	

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 5

Since she has not worked at all during her life except for a short period after she finished high school, Mrs. L has been classified by us as a non-worker. Neither she nor her husband felt that she should work. She has enjoyed being home with her children and has had no desire to go to work until just recently. Because she would like to buy things for her daughters which she cannot afford to do now, Mrs. L has just recently been talking about finding a job. In addition, her husband is in construction work and can never be sure of being employed. Mr. L injured his back in 1968 and was unemployed for about a year. Mrs. L feels that he might have more back trouble and not be able to work again for a period of time. If she were working, Mrs. L feels that at least there would be one income which the family could depend on.

Mrs. L, age 48, has light brown hair and fair coloring. She is petite and dresses in a neat manner. Her health has been good until the summer of 1968, when she had bladder trouble. Mrs. L is friendly and easy going. Her main interest is having a happy family and providing them with what they need. Mrs. L is very friendly and fun-loving with her daughters, ages 17 and 12. Her two older children E, a son age 28, and F, a daughter age 27, are living away from home. Mrs. L is still married to her first husband. She seems happy and contented in her way of life. The shortage of money is her only complaint.

The L's are living in a house over one hundred years old that belonged to Mrs. L's family. It is located in a small, sparsely-populated neighborhood. Both Mr. and Mrs. L have lived in the general area all their lives. Mrs. L's parents were from Czechoslovakia and had a small farm near the Ls' present home. Mr. L's parents were from Italy and also had a farm in the general area. Their home is about average for the area, some are kept better and others are in worse condition. The inside is rather cluttered but fairly clean.

The L's were on welfare for three months. This was because of Mr. L's inability to bring money into the home due to an injury he received on his construction job. As soon as his injury was healed, he was on the job again and the case was closed. The L's are active in the neighborhood center and in other local organizations. Now that Mr. L is back to work, things seem to be going well for the family.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 3

Mrs. L is a small woman, girlish-looking not only because she is petite, but also because of her open, friendly expression when she greets you. Her movements and mannerisms are also youthful. Mrs. L is fairly easy-going, accepting and passive in most aspects of her life. She accepts things as they are and does not "have wishful thoughts." Because she is unassuming, she makes statements about only what she sees or knows. If she does not feel that she knows enough, she will not give an opinion. Mrs. encourages individual behavior and decision-making in her children, but she is not able to function strongly as an individual herself. Mrs. L feels there are certain things that are expected of her and that she fulfills these satisfactorily. She has no feeling of independence. She doesn't seem to give thought to what other people think of her and really has few feelings about herself as a person. She and her daughter could only come up with pet names that Mr. L uses like "stupid bohemian" to describe Mrs. L. The only daily activities she mentioned were listening to radio, watching one soap opera regularly and spending long periods of time eating. Mrs. L is a passive, contented woman who accepts any situation almost without question. She seems almost totally lacking in self identity and a life of her own, but is not dissatisfied. Mrs. L completed the 12th grade.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 3

Mrs. L doesn't seem to think on an abstract level and is only concerned with things that are happening in present daily life. She could not really talk about the future. The only time Mrs. L felt there was more pressure than usual was when her husband was injured and could not work,and when he is laid off from his construction work. Except for these times of financial stress, Mrs. L feels that her life has been just about the same. When questioned further, she felt that maybe life was better when her two oldest children were pre-schoolers because they had few expenses and the cost and standard of living were not as high as they are now. Mrs. L seems to rate her worst and best times over the years according to economic stress. She does what she feels needs to be done within her family and among her friends and does not worry about what she wishes she could do or how things might be or should be.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mr. L is rather short, strongly built and has an intense face. He has expectations of how each family member should behave and reacts firmly, with no exceptions when somebody deviates. "Once I have told my daughters, the punishment holds no matter what." He has a gruff way of teasing his wife and daughters. All major decisions are made by him. Mrs. L will not make any decision unless she knows from previous experience that it is in accordance with her husband. An example of this is when the Department of Social Services asked her to sign a release of medical information for her husband. She said she did not want the responsibility and that the paper should be taken to her husband to be signed. Mr. L is insistent on staying with any agreement he makes.

Mr. L prefers working, and he started his job before the doctor recommended it. "I can't stand being home and useless." As a man who is firm, fair by the rules and self-reliant, he guides his family and his economic situation by what he feels is right and does not think that these decisions are an imposition. Mr. L completed 8th grade. Mr. L is satisfied with his work. He is much happier with his present construction job than when he was employed at a local factory.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 6

The L's have been married for over thirty years. Mr. L is the dominant figure in their marital relationship. He seems happy to have Mrs. L as his wife and she seems to respect and care about her husband. They have lived in their home since they were married. Mr. L has only left for service in World War II. From things Mrs. L has said, it seems that Mr. L decides what needs to be done and unless Mrs. L strongly objects, she is willing to do her part in what needs to be done. Mrs. L does not seem to mind this strong-mindedness. Mrs. L is easy to get along with and takes teasing and criticism from her family well.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 6

In contrast to her husband, Mrs. L is a very permissive and unquestioning mother. She accepts her role as a mother and all of her children show affection and support, with the exception of her son whom she doesn't want to talk about. In her way she has said, "The children are ours , so we take care of them." Mr. and Mrs. L complement each other in their parental roles.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 6

Physical care is of importance to the L's. They have always managed to have food. But Mrs. L seems particularly concerned that the children should be clothed properly. Being able to buy things for her teenage daughters is one of the main reasons she would like to have extra money. The children have been brought up to be clean and neat and are required to take care of their clothing by their father.

Mr. L is the disciplinary figure in the family. All decisions such as curfews, spending money and disciplinary actions are made by him. Mr. L gets quite upset by misbehavior - anything which isn't in accordance with his strict rules. Mrs. L's reaction would be disappointment and trying to find out the cause of the behavior and a solution for it. However, Mrs. L never disagrees with her husband's decisions about discipline and conduct.

Mrs. L is friendly with her children and thinks well of them. She doesn't have any ambitious goals for them. She doesn't make strong demands or have high expectations of them - she just assumes that they will behave properly.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 5

Mrs. L's oldest son, E, age 28, has had two broken marriages. He is now holding two jobs; one at a local college and one at a store. Mrs. L does not like to talk about him; apparently he has caused trouble between his parents and himself and may still be doing so. E does not seem to keep in close contact with his family even though he lives only eight miles from Ithaca.

The oldest daughter, F, age 27, travels with her husband who is a career man in the Navy. She keeps in touch with the family and G plans to live with her for awhile after graduation out in California. She is obviously well liked by the family. They consider F's marriage a happy one and her style of life an improvement over theirs. The seventeen-year-old depends on her for advice and understanding,and all consider her a good example. F graduated from high school.

G, age 17, is short and blonde with a pointed face and black-rimmed glasses. She is not as active in school as her sister. She does not have a group of friends. G stays at home most of the time. She is affectionate to her mother and jokes with her father. Her younger sister she finds annoying and quarrels with her. She finds it hard to take teasing from H. G is finishing 12th year and is also taking a data processing course at a junior college.

H is the youngest child, age 12. Although she is five years younger than G, she is taller than her sister. Her face is narrow and pointed and she has light brown hair. She is noisy and active, continually moving. H treats her mother like one of her friends and continually irritates her sister with teasing and small annoying acts. She is in 7th grade. H is a live-wire with an active group of friends. They attend a good number of the school functions and spend time together after school in one or the other's home. Both daughters have an average of B for grades.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY   rating 6

The family is very cohesive with the exception of the son, who is left to live his own life. The parents seem proud of and happy with their daughters,who in turn love and respect their parents. The mother is the more affectionate parent and the father is the problem-solver and decision-maker. Both parents relate well to their children, but in very different manners.

As a whole, the family does not go to many outside activities together, except for TV and meals.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 4

In 1968, Mr. L had a severe ankle injury on his job. When the ankle was healed and the cast taken off, it was found that he had injured his knee also. He had to return for treatment of his knee and for a blood clot in his lung. All in all, Mr. L was out of work for over a year. Other than this year when he was injured, Mr. L is in good health. He does have to keep from overexerting himself, due to the blood clotting. Mrs. L is having trouble with her bladder,and it seems to keep recurring. The children's health is satisfactory.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 4

The L's own their six-room home and the five acres around it.

The outside of the L's home is fairly well kept. It is painted, and within the past few years they have added a sun porch to the front of the home. There is a walkway to the door,but it is unpaved as is the driveway. It is located in a rural neighborhood and is about average for the condition of other homes surrounding it.

The inside of the home is cluttered - with a variety of things left here and there. But underneath the accumulation, the house is fairly clean. Mrs. L says that keeping a neat home is difficult for her and that she could not manage things quite as well as she would like. The disorder of the home is in contrast to the clean, perfectly ironed clothing worn by Mrs. L and her daughters.

The living room and kitchen are large enough rooms and could have a spacious feeling; but there is too much furniture, including two televisions, so there is not much space. The televisions and furniture are fairly new. The curtains are old, discolored and shredded. Whether the house provides enough privacy is questionable because there are no doors in the house anywhere. The family may have other ways of obtaining or creating privacy, rather than a separate,closed-off room.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 3

Mrs. L does not function well as a homemaker. She does not seem to be able to organize her time well and plan ahead adequately. Rather, her style is to live from day to day and do what has to be done at that moment without any kind of routine; but no one in the family minds this way of functioning. The children help Mrs. L with dinner and are supposed to take care of their own rooms. On the other hand, Mr. L keeps the yard neat and maintains the outside of the home in good condition. He also makes repairs on the inside of the house. Because of his rather traditional attitude about the role of the husband and father, Mr. L does not help with the housework or with the physical care of the children.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 6

The parents of Mr. and Mrs. L were first-generation immigrants into the States. Mr. L's father came here from Italy and started his farm. Mrs. L's parents both came from Prague, Czechoslovakia before Mrs. L was born. The only relative Mrs. L speaks of is her sister. This seems to be the only adult outside of her husband on whom she is emotionally dependent. She and her sister attend a women's club together.

The L's are friends with their neighbors and there seems to be a regular flow of interaction between them. The daughters watch the color television of one neighbor daily, and Mrs. L constantly refers to conversations, general knowledge and problems of her neighbors. There seems to be a willingness to share and work with each other in their neighborhood and no fear of knowing each other's business.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 4

There is no mention of any financial support from any kin.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

Mrs. L says she is willing to go to the school to discuss any problems concerning her children, but does not attend PTA.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 6

Mr. L is president of the local community association. Under the direction of her husband, Mrs. L is also active in helping him with his responsibilities.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

The L's were on public assistance from April to July 1969, because Mr. L had been injured on his job. He had a severe ankle break. He received workmen's compensation during the time his ankle was healing but not afterwards. He is appealing this.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

Mr. and Mrs. L are appreciative of the help they received from the Department of Social Services but are thankful they were only on welfare for three months. Mrs. L thinks welfare is fine if "it goes where it is supposed to go." She feels that there are times when it is not distributed fairly. She could not answer how she would change welfare; she finally said she did not know enough about the welfare system to make suggestions. Their relation with their welfare caseworker was adequate as far as Mrs. L is concerned.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

The only source of income is Mr. L's salary. They do not feel that it is enough to run a household and raise two teenage daughters. Both Mr. and Mrs. L complain about not having enough money. Mr. L feels that between union dues and seasonal working, he does not earn as much as he should and he feels that many people have a misconception of how much money a construction worker earns. Mr. L seems to plan the general budget, approximately how much money should go to different categories; but Mrs. L seems to do the clerical work. If there is a major financial decision to be made, it is sure to be made by Mr. L. The L's are getting back on their feet, having paid the last payments on two large bills and their car.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

Mrs. L worked for one year in 1940, after graduating from high school, as a live-in domestic for a family in Ithaca. During her marriage, she has not worked. Mrs. L's mother worked full time in a restaurant while Mrs. L was in high school, and her father was a farmer. She was not clear about whether her mother worked during Mrs. L's childhood. Mrs. L had two brothers and one sister. The two brothers are dead now, but during their life they were employed full-time. Her sister has a more attractive home than the L's and works full time at a state institution. Mrs. L wasn't sure of her sister's exact job, but said that she worked with the residents of the institution.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 4

There are none of the usual obstacles to prevent Mrs. L from working. She has no young children. The family has a car. She would be willing to take an unskilled job of lower status such as cleaning or working in a laundry since she is such an "other-directed" person with no job aspirations. She has recently been motivated to work to earn extra money to buy things for her daughters. Mr. L has strong feelings about women working when the children need child care, but this is not their situation now. Perhaps Mrs. L will be able to persuade him to help her find a job.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mrs. L feels the only reason she wants to work is to earn money. She doesn't care what kind of a job she has. Mrs. L does not have a generalized attitude toward the working woman. This is in character with her. Mr. L feels that working is necessary and very important to men. He grudgingly admitted that in some families, it is necessary for the woman to go to work to help support the family. All that he would say about Mrs. L working was "she is talking about it." Mr. L seems to feel threatened by the idea of Mrs. L helping to support the family. It appears that it is difficult for him to admit that he can't adequately support his family because of his unsteady employment in construction work and the increased expenses of his teenage daughters.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 3

It might be that Mrs. L after all these years will go back to work. If their financial situation worsens through sickness or lay-offs for Mr. L, he may be more enthusiastic about Mrs. L working. With only one child home and with housekeeping such an unimportant factor in the life of the family, there is really nothing to prevent Mrs. L from working, except the attitude of her husband and having someone help her find a job. The only thing Mrs. L is the least bit aggressive about is money. Its lack is a big problem for her, so this may help her to make efforts toward obtaining employment.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3

To have Mrs. L work might be beneficial for the whole family. First, Mrs. L could have the money she wants for her children; and she would be less worried about money in general knowing that she can earn a wage, too, in addition to her husband. For her personally, working even as a cleaning woman or in a laundry or a dining room at one of the colleges might open up a whole new world to Mrs. L. She might grow in self-identity and ability to think for herself. She could meet new people and be having experiences of her own outside of her family which might help her be less passive. Since her daughters are older, to have their mother work should not effect them adversely. They also stand to directly benefit with new clothes and other things they want. G and H might also learn to accept more responsibility around the house. Mr. L might feel uneasy about having his wife in a situation where he was not around to direct her and make decisions for her. He might think she couldn't manage without him. Hopefully, she would be able to have this much self-direction. Mrs. L's working would probably have no effect on the home. However, she might become more concerned about the neatness of her home and planning ahead with an increase in self-esteem brought about through working.

IMPLICATIONS

When the wage earner in the family is injured or ill for a long time, the effects on the family are harmful. The L's were forced to go on public assistance for the first time. They had bills and debts pile up which they couldn't pay. The family is constantly worried about money. This financial instability is also a part of Mr. L's work in construction, although he does get unemployment insurance. It is important for someone like Mrs. L to have job training in her younger years while in school; then when she is ready to go to work, she has some skills to enable her to find a better-paying job or ones which can be up-dated through going back to school or on-the-job training. At this point in her life, Mrs. L is not a likely candidate for either a return to the classroom or any involved kind of training. She will also need a good deal of support and assistance in finding a job during the first few months of work since this will be a whole new way of life for her. She basically is a shy, dependent person.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. P AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY + 4

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 48
Education: 12th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 3 children
2 boys, 1 girl, ages 13 to 21

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: none
Husband's age: 53
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: unemployed

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: off
No. of times case closed:
No. of years on welfare: 1 1/2

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: non-worker
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: none

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span 1f 132 months

No. of months employed: -
No. of full-time jobs: -
No. of part-time jobs: -
Total no. of jobs held: -
Longest period of employment: -
Average job duration: -
No. of months unemployed: 132
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 132 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 4

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1941 1945				clerical for 5 years; phone operator, 1 year		
1946		married	insurance adjuster; night school for acc'ting			
1949	child					
1953	child					
1957	child					
1960			custodial job, next 10 years			Mr.P's ulcers and near nervous breakdown. Family moved to country, near Ithaca
1968						Mrs.P's hernia operation
1969					case opened for 4 months	Mr.P had more troubls with ulcers. Unable to work for 5 months
1970					case reopened to present	Mr.P nearly starved from stomach trouble. Had operation. Must convalesce for a year

II. THE WOMAN -- INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 6

Mrs. P has been classified by us as a non-worker because during the eleven year period from January 1960 to December 1970 she has not held a job. She has not worked since 1946 when she got married. After she graduated from high school in 1941, she worked for a defense plant doing clerical work and as a telephone operator. Mrs. P is a Caucasian, about fifty years old. Her hair is greying and she is somewhat overweight. Her health is all right now but she has had problems. She has a neat clean appearance and dresses simply. Mrs. P is a warm, friendly person who says that she enjoys talking to people. She feels that her friends and relatives find her a good listener and come to her with their problems. In times of trouble, she seems to have been the one to keep everyone calm and happy. She is a very proud woman. Mrs. P is still married to her first husband. There are three children, sons R 22 and S 18 and a daughter T 13. Things have not gone well for the family since they moved here from New Jersey ten years ago when Mr. P became ill and was advised to move to a rural area. The house they bought at that time is about a mile from neighbors and Mrs. P misses the friends and relatives she had nearby in New Jersey. Mr. P's health continues to be a problem and he will be out of work for another year following an operation to remove his stomach. He has not done his insurance adjustor work since coming to this area and was forced to accept work as a custodian. Mrs. P is optimistic about the future and hopes that when Mr. P is able to return to work, things will improve for the family.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 3

Mrs. P is a warm, outgoing person who enjoys being with people. In some respects Mrs. P seems pleased with herself, especially in her relationships with her children and people in general. She feels, however, that she has not been able to help her family in their present crisis. She seems to make up for it by accepting her fate and trying to get the rest of her family to do likewise. Mrs. P seems to have passively accepted her situation in life and to be happy, at least on the surface. In many ways, Mrs. P seems to have adopted her husband's attitudes. Many times she would say something that seemed to come more from him than from herself. Mrs. P is lacking in self-identity and has no real life of her own. Instead she seems to be a reflection of her husband and children. Mrs. P does not feel independent.

She doesn't drive so she is dependent on other people to take her wherever she has to go.

Mrs. P thought that her friends would describe her as slaphappy, friendly always around when they need her, and happy. Her sister says to her, "I don't know how you can be so happy when you've got so many troubles." She had a little trouble with how her husband would describe her, but then she said, "easy to get along with and fat." She said, "If you put an animal in a pen and they can't go noplace, I guess they get fat, too." She describes herself as agreeable in that she usually gives in to her children when they want to do something. Mrs. P described a feminine woman as one who is not loud, not fat, has correct manners, is soft spoken, and petite. Her description of a feminine woman is the opposite of the way she thinks other people see her.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 2

Right now is the worst time in Mrs. P's life because of the financial situation and because she feels very isolated and lonely where she is living. This seems to depress her at times because she has had no real control of the circumstances that put her where she is. Although she is dissatisfied, she realizes that there is not much she can do about her situation. Mrs. P tries to maintain a rather passive acceptance of whatever happens to her.

Although Mrs. P's family is at a low point psychologically and financially, they can see things improving in the future since Mr. P's stomach problem is gone and he should be able to work in a year. Mrs. P talks optimistically about the future. Her hope that things will improve is probably how she effectively copes with her situation.

If Mrs. P has a bad day, she likes to take a nap. She usually talks to her husband about anything that bothers her, but she says, "I don't complain. I wouldn't get nowhere." They discuss whatever is bothering her and try to work it out together.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Mr. P is a fifty-three year old immigrant from Sweden. His caseworker described him as a "moody and morose type person whose conversation indicates intelligence and a degree of acceptance of the other person, but I suspect that he is given to a lot of melancholia and depression." Mr. P's two most central traits are his pride and his strength of character. It is his pride, in matters of taking as little as possible from welfare, or not using food stamps, that has probably allowed him to keep his dignity in his self-perceived role failure. But it is also his pride that seems at times to interfere with practicality; he won't let his wife work while he is ill, he wouldn't go to a doctor for ten years because he couldn't afford it and almost died; and he won't use food stamps. Although he probably views himself as a failure in the role of wage earner, he has maintained his dignity by preserving his role as dominant husband and father. His hardships in the last ten years have taken something out of him. Mrs. P said he used to be very sociable and a lot of fun at parties, but that now he usually stays at home.

He had been very ambitious before he got sick. When they were first married in 1946 and living in New Jersey, Mr. P was an insurance adjustor and was going to night school to prepare to be an accountant. Evidently, they were doing well and money presented no real problems. Ten years ago, Mr. P developed ulcers and had a near nervous breakdown and his doctor recommended that he move to a quieter rural area to get away from the pressure of metropolitan life. At this point, they bought the house that they are living in now. Mr. P could only get custodial work in Ithaca. Mrs. P feels that this kind of work is beneath him, but as in other things, she accepts his decisions. The change in jobs caused a great decrease in salary for Mr. P.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 5

Mr. and Mrs. P have been married since September 1946. She seems to be very close to her husband and they have never been apart since their marriage. It seems that Mr. P expects his wife to have the same, almost stoic, attitude that he has. She said that she usually didn't disagree with her husband because she didn't want to aggravate his ulcers. She respects him and accepts any decision that he makes, although they discuss matters together before the actual decision is made. She said, "This is his decision, up here," referring to their move to their small town.

Mrs. P has a great deal of respect for her husband and his word is law to her. She may not always like what he decides, but she accepts and supports his decisions. Mrs. P seems to be the one smoothes things over. She has probably done the least complaining in her family and has tried to keep everyone as contented as possible. Because she is unable to help her family financially, she helps with moral support.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 6

Mrs. P is most involved in her role as mother, maybe because this is the role that gives her the greatest feeling of accomplishment and the area of her life in which she has had the most control and the most satisfactory results. She is very concerned about her children in what seems to be a supportive way.

Originally, Mrs. P wanted six children, but now she is glad that she only had three for several reasons. First of all, she realizes how much work it would be. Also she feels that she has not been able to give her three children all that she would have liked to, because of their financial situation. If there had been six instead of three, it would have been even worse. She often takes care of her neightbor's children and to her, it's a pleasure.

For Mrs. P the best things about having children are getting their love and consideration, the satisfaction of watching them grow up and just enjoying life with them. The worst things are the work and the discipline, although she says that they have not presented any major difficulties. Mrs. P says, "A good mother should be concerned with her children. She always knows where they are, makes sure that they dress appropriately, and sees that they have a good breakfast, lunch and dinner.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 6

Mrs. P feels that parents have the right to set curfews and decide how much money the child gets, but she also feels that the child should be able to choose his own friends .

and have some say in where he goes with his friends. Mrs. P seems to accept her husband's decisions about the children which are stricter than hers. He does not give in as easily as she does. Mrs. P said that he wants a reason why the children want to go somewhere or do something, whereas she lets them go where they want. Although she is more lenient than her husband, she would not tell her children they could do something if her husband had already said they couldn't.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 6

R, age 21, works in a restaurant in Ithaca. He helps his parents out as much as he can, but is not able to give them too much. R had wanted to be a car mechanic, but he hurt his back badly in a car accident so he had to do something that would be less taxing on his back. He likes his job. Mrs. P said that he had never been very interested in school and preferred to spend time with his friends. R moved to Ithaca because the bad roads where they live made it difficult for him to get to work in the winter. He comes to visit the family once a week on his day off. Mr. P told me that she expected the most from R because he was her first child, and now she is more realistic in her expectations for her children.

S, age 17, is graduating from high school soon and wants to go on to college. She said that he does well in school and is on the honor roll. Mrs. P feels badly that they can't help S finance his education so he may have to go to the community college. T, her daughter age 13, is an A student and wants to be a teacher.

Mrs. P felt that she would like T to marry a man with a good education, who would be able to support her well. When Mrs. P compared her childhood to T's, she said, "I think that my life when I was young was better than T's because there were many things around my house such as clubs to join, places to go and there is nothing up here." She hopes that her daughter and the man she marries will have good health and avoid the problems she has had. To Mrs. P, the ideal wife for her sons would be the home type, who cooked, cleaned, and sewed. She hopes her sons will make more moeny than her husband has and will be able to live more comfortably.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 6

The family seems to be very cohesive, first of all because they spend a good deal of time together. Secondly, they have all worked in common in this period of crisis. When they are together, the family does things such as gardening, swimming, picnicking, watching T.V., or else the men work on their cars.

Mrs. P says that her husband is very close to the children and that they like to spend time with him. Since her children are older, Mrs. P can now depend on them for moral support and help around the house. Mrs. P said that she and S talk a lot together, at least one hour a day, and discuss many things.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 3

Mr. P has had a great many problems with his health, in fact, this is probably the main reason that this family is in the situation they are in now. Ten years ago, Mr. P started suffering from ulcers. According to their case record, he was near to having a nervous breakdown, probably because of the pressure of going to night school and working all day. Their doctor advised him to move to a rural area for a quieter way of life. In 1969 Mr. P was having a bad time with his ulcers again and could not work but was back at work in five months. In the beginning of October 1970 he became ill again. At this point, the Department of Social Services found that Mr. P had not seen a doctor since he left New Jersey and was using medicine and following a diet that the last doctor had prescribed for him ten years ago. Mr. P still refused to get medical help even though he could not digest any food and was starving to death. His wife feared his going to the hospital because they might discover he was dying of cancer. But she did encourage him to go. He finally did get medical attention in November 1970 and had an operation which removed his stomach. He now must remain home for a year before returning to work.

Mrs. P had problems with her health two years ago and had a hernia operation. Now she complains of having headaches and often not feeling well because she is going through menopause. Mrs. P has false teeth that bother her too. The children do not have any health problems.

It is difficult to determine if this negligence about Mr. P's health was due to his pride again because he probably could not afford a doctor, or if they were afraid of what a doctor might have found wrong with him. They probably would not be so lax about the health of their children. Neither would Mr. P neglect his wife's health in light of the fact that she did have a hernia operation during one of his illnesses.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 6

Their home is a large old farmhouse with 100 acres of land. It is located in a rural area and the neighboring houses are about a mile away. It is evident that Mrs. P is unhappy about the area they live in because of the lack of access to community facilities and to people. According to their case record, they have done a lot of work improving the house since they moved there ten years ago. They keep a vegetable garden in the back yard and do a lot of work on the upkeep of the grounds.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 5

Since Mrs. P is home all day she has a lot of time to do housework. Her home is very neat and she takes great pride in this. Mrs. P is very concerned that her family eats well, and gives them a good breakfast every morning. She gives her children lunch every day so that she can be sure that they will have what she considers a good meal. She seems very concerned about their diet and feels that it is important for their health. The whole family eats dinner together.

Mrs. P likes to shop for food. She enjoys preparing but when their income is so limited she feels guilty if she buys what she prefers because it costs more. This is how she explained her dilemma: "When I go shopping for food, I feel I can never buy anything but the cheapest stuff even if I'm willing to scrimp on something else so that I can buy it. I feel I'm expected to buy the cheapest. I like butter instead of margarine. It's silly but I just can't buy butter. I feel bad no matter what I do."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 3

Mrs. P's mother was born in the United States and her father was born in Germany. Her father is dead and her mother lives in New Jersey, where most of Mrs. P's family still lives. The people closest to Mrs. P are her sisters and her brother. Now of course they can't have as much contact as they used to, but they come to visit in the spring and summer months and spend their vacations with the P's. Even at a distance, their kin seem to have given Mr. and Mrs. P a great deal of emotional support especially by visiting so often. This is the happiest and most "social" time of the year for Mr. and Mrs. P.

Before she left New Jersey, Mrs. P led an active life and spent time with her friends and family. Mrs. P was very unhappy about moving to this area because she had to leave all her friends and her relatives with whom she is very close. She doesn't like living in a rural area because it is too isolated and lonely. She used the word "dulls-ville" to describe the place she lives and the way her life has been since she moved there.

Since she is an outgoing, friendly person, it is easy to see why she feels stagnated and dissatisfied now. It is particularly hard for her because her sisters and brother are doing so well. Mrs. P seems to miss their active life more than her husband does. Mr. P may not like to meet people because he is ashamed of his position in life.

Because they are so isolated and Mrs. P does not drive, they have not made many friends. Occasionally one of her neighbors takes her into town to do her grocery shopping, and spends the afternoon with her. One of T's friend's mother sometimes comes over when the two daughters get together, and spends the day with Mrs. P or takes them to her house.

In her extra time, Mrs. P likes to do gardening, go to movies, and in warm weather go swimming and picnicking. If there were an extra hour in the day, Mrs. P said that she would like to spend it reading.

If Mrs. P were having problems or needed advice, she would go to her husband first. Her next choice would be her older sister, whom she describes as "very wise." She said that people often come to her to discuss their problems because she is a good listener and is good at reconciliation.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 6

The case record shows that Mrs. P's sister loaned them $3,000 to pay off the mortgage on their house. The loan was more or less a present because her sister does not want them to pay it back if they can't afford it. Their oldest son helps them out as much as he can. The P's probably could borrow money from most of their relatives in an emergency.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

There is no evidence that the P's use any other community resources other than the Department of Social Services and the hospital.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 4

Mrs. P mentioned that they sometimes go to P.T.A. meetings, but this seems to be the only organization they are involved with.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 7

The P family lived off their savings when Mr. P was out of work from December 1968 until March 1969 due to illness. They were on welfare from March until July 1967 after their savings were gone. In July he started doing maintenance work again and worked until October 1970, when he got sick again. This time the P family had to apply for public assistance immediately because they had no financial resources on which to draw. Mrs. P said that they had been on welfare for a short period in 1969, but they had not been on it since. In actuality, their record shows their case was reopened in the fall of 1970 and will probably remain open for a year.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

The P family has an attitude of pride and desire for self-sufficiency in their dealings with the Department of Social Services. Mrs. P buys food stamps, but only she will shop for them. When her husband goes shopping, he doesn't like to use them because "they are clumsy and it is easier to pay in cash." He is too proud to pay for groceries with food stamps. Mrs. P was asked by the Department of Social Services to secure previous heating bills to see if more money could be alloted for their heat budget. She refused and said that they would make do with what they had. They have had trouble with the running water in the kitchen, which the Department has offered to fix. However, they say that they would rather wait until they can afford it themselves. Mr. and Mrs. P are very much against medicaid, but reluctantly used it to pay for her hernia operation and his stomach operation.

Mrs. P says that both she and her husband think that welfare is a marvelous thing in an emergency, but that people shouldn't depend on it or stay on it for a long period of time. She said that as a taxpayer, she didn't like to pay for it. Mr. and Mrs. P have tried to maintain as little involvement as possible with the Department of Social Services. The caseworker feels that this is mostly Mr. P's influence. Mrs. P's denial that they were receiving public assistance the second time that Mr. P could not work in 1970 would seem to indicate that the P family is ashamed to admit that they are still recipients of public assistance.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 5

Mrs. P said that she handles the household money and her husband handles the bills. They are very prompt in their payment of bills when possible. Mrs. P said that when she and her husband argue, it is usually about money when there isn't enough.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

After she graduated from high school in 1941 and before she was married, Mrs. P worked for a defense plant doing clerical work. She then had a job as a telephone operator for a year in 1945 until she got married in 1946. Since then she has not worked. Her husband felt it important for her to be at home with her family and she had not intended to work after she got married. Mrs. P's mother never worked but stayed at home as a housewife and mother, taking care of her four children. Mrs. P's father worked for the railroad. In comparing herself to her parents, Mrs. P says that her parents were much better off. She said that they were never rich but able to have everything that they wanted. Mrs. P's sisters and brothers all work and are married. Her older sister is a secretary and is doing very well. Her other sister is a nurse, but is semi-retired now and only does private nursing. Her brother is the Superintendent of roads in a town in New Jersey. In comparing herself to her brother and sisters, Mrs. P said that things have gone much better for them. She seemed to believe that if her husband had not gotten sick, then things would have gone about the same for her as for the rest of her family.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 4

Mrs. P never worked while she had small children but she would be strongly against putting her children in a day care center run by people she did not know. She feels that a mother should be home with her children when they are pre-schoolers and home when they get out of school as they grow older. If she were to leave her children with anyone for some reason, she would prefer to leave them with a relative or a close friend, whose care and attention she could rely on. Although Mrs. P has never had to leave her children with others, she is willing to help her friends and relatives by taking care of their children. She never accepts money, but does it in return for rides when she needs to go shopping.

Even now when he is ill, her husband would not want Mrs. P to work because he feels that she should be there when T gets home from school. Mr. P would be uncomfortable if his wife were working and he wasn't. He seems very traditional and feels that it would be wrong for a woman to work and be the sole supporter of her family. This attitude of her husband is certainly the biggest obstacle in the way of Mrs. P's working. If it weren't for this, Mrs. P would like to work so the family could be independent from public assistance.

Mrs. P would probably need to learn to drive too if she were to work since they live so far out of the city

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

To Mrs. P, the most important aspect of a job for herself would be the salary it offered. When asked if she would work if she had all the money she needed, she replied, "No. Only for money." She said that if she were to take a job now with no other training, she would probably do office work. Mrs. P feels that most women who work either have to or don't want to do just housework. She discussed how much harder it would be to be a career woman as well as a wife and mother. If a woman does all three, Mrs. P feels that she won't be able to fulfill the role of wife and mother as well. Mrs. P thinks that most husbands don't really want their wives to work. She said that when her husband was working, he liked to come home and know that the house would be neat and that dinner would be waiting for him. It is hard to be sure how much of Mrs. P's professed work attitudes are really her own, and how much are her husband's.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 2

Although she presented many negative attitudes toward working women, Mrs. P said she would like to work now if her husband would let her. The one thing Mrs. P would do differently about her life would be to have a career for herself. She thinks that if she had had something to fall back on she could have helped her family financially when they needed it. She wishes that after she had graduated from high school, she had gone to nursing school, or some sort of program to prepare for a job.

Many women whose husbands oppose their working outside their home have found that being a licensed day care mother is a viable alternative which their husbands are willing to support. By taking care of other people's children in their home, they are able to remain there and fulfill all their responsibilities as a wife and mother and still earn money. This might be a realistic opportunity for Mrs. P which would not be threatening to Mr. P. Mrs. P loves children and often cares for those of her neighbors. She has lots of outdoor space and keeps a home which is clean and orderly. And she certainly has enough free time to devote to the care of children.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 4

Mrs. P could never go to work against the wishes of her husband, no matter how much she wanted to have a job. But if he were to approve of her being a day care mother or finally felt that having his wife work was less destructive to his pride and sense of self-sufficiency than being totally dependent on public assistance, then working would probably be a very rewarding experience for Mrs. P. She could feel that she was contributing financially to her family's support during this time of need. Even more important to her personally would be a much stronger feeling of being independent and having a life of her own. Mrs. P would not be so isolated and would have many more opportunities to meet other people. She could begin to feel that there was not such a gap between the status of her family and those of her siblings. In all probability, her sense of well-being and self-esteem would be greatly improved by being able to have a job.

Working could not have a harmful effect on the children. Their daughter is thirteen and is easily old enough to be on her own and to help at home. Also Mr. P would probably be home convalescing from his operation. In fact, given the kind of support and loyality which the family members have, it probably would be beneficial for the daughter to feel that she was also making a concrete contribution to the household by taking over some of the tasks. In this way, their home could continue to be maintained in the same manner and neither Mr. or Mrs. P would have to feel like her working was detrimental to their household.

It seems inevitable that Mrs. P's working would have very negative effects on her husband. Even though he might finally give his approval for her to be a day care mother or work outside their home, he probably would still have very strong feelings about her working. These are feelings he has had all his life which will continue to be important to him. His position as a man and as head of the house is threatened. Not only is he currently unable to support his family but has to be dependent on welfare - a situation which he hates. Even when he is working, it is at a menial job with a much lower wage than he formerly earned. All these years, he has prohibited his wife from working, saying that her place was at home. This attitude is probably re-enforced by "old world" customs and traditions about the proper role of women which are still a part of Mr. P's background. So it would be difficult, indeed, for Mr. P to change these attitudes and feelings so that he could willingly allow his wife to go to work and be the family bread winner without feeling that this was just one more defeat and burden to bear.

IMPLICATIONS

In order to have Mrs. P be completely satisfied with her life in the way she would now define satisfaction, it would be necessary to have her husband back in good health and therefore able to work and support the family. If this were possible, it might be feasible for the P's to move back nearer her relatives where she would have the kind of emotional support and interpersonal contacts which she misses so much. It is interesting in the record that the possibility of moving back to New Jersey was never mentioned and therefore it is possible that Mrs. P has really accepted the fact that her life is going to be in "dullsville" forever. The fact of the husband's unemployability appears to be accepted also, with no mention of possible part-time work at accounting which could even be done at home. Surely, with the double bind in which Mr. P finds himself, unable to work and unwilling, or at least reluctant to accept welfare, it would seem that he might have thought of ways he could bring in additional income. Overall, it seems unlikely that the kind of satisfaction Mrs. P would like will be realized.

The ethic of independence and the importance of a man supporting his family as a means of establishing the status of that man is clearly seen in this family. Acceptance on his part of the idea of his wife becoming the support of the family in a time of emergency and her willingness to go to work might have helped this family regain some of their feelings of self-worth. But as of now, this course of action would only contribute even more to Mr. P's feeling of being a defeated man. It may take a while for society in general to accept this alternate life style.

The importance of serious illness in determining a family's functioning is well described here. After his first illness and forced move to the country, he did not get further medical attention. The question must be raised as to why he did not go to a doctor in his new residence. The reasons given were that he did not feel he had the money and he was afraid of what doctors might find. Preventive medical attention might have made the operation for removal of his stomach and his present year of unemployment unnecessary. If he had had attention, he might never have reached the point where he was afraid of what the doctor might find. Our present policies of paying for operations but not for prevention may in the end be much more costly.

Mrs. P has all the qualities which would make a good day care mother and this indeed might be a job her husband would accept. She is a woman who wanted a larger family, enjoys children, and is a good housekeeper who could provide good meals and an organized environment for small children. This might fulfill her needs to be nurturant to children when the realistic needs of her own are no longer present.

Perhaps casework efforts for a family like this should be directed to the man to help him accept help from his wife.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. R AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY 0

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 52
Education: 10th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages:
4 children from 1st marriage who have left home and
3 children from 2nd marriage, 2 boys, 14 and 8 years and 1 girl, 11years old

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 2
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age: -
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband"s usual occupation: -

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current Status: not working
Work typology: non-worker
Skills and training: -
Usual occupation: -

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

Number of months employed: -
No. of full-time jobs held: -
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: -
Longest period of employment: -
Average job duration: -
No. of months unemployed: 132 months
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 132 months

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: case closed
No. of times case closed: 1
No. of years on welfare: about 4

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 1-

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other
1932		married		store clerk		
1934	4 older children, now grown		no dates on husband's work history			
1942				factory		
1945				store clerk		
1948						moved to Penna.
1949				factory work for 5 years		
1954		divorced		store clerk		moved to N.J.
1955				laundry, housekeeper		
1956	child	married		college cook for 3 years		
1959	child			stopped working		
1962	child					
1965					case opened	husband's nervous breakdown and foot injury
1967					case closed	husband's cancer
1968					Soc.Sec. case opened	
1970					case closed	

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION Rating 6

Mrs. R is a fifty-three-year old woman, Caucasian, about 5'3" and plump, but not heavy for her age. She has short, straight gray hair, worn simply, and her simple housecoats are immaculate. Mrs. R appears to be sure of herself, confident in her knowledge of survival, yet she is aware of her problems and voices them "loud and clear." She's defiant and forceful, but not quite domineering. It's as though she were saying, "I've lived in this world for fifty-three years . I know how to behave in it right well."

Mrs. R has not worked for twelve years. The family is living on Social Security payments since Mr. R is considered disabled. He has not worked for the past five years. The family consists of boys, fourteen and eight, and a girl, twelve, now at home. This is a second marriage for both R's and the children from those marriages are gone from the home.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION Rating 5

Mrs. R has these feelings about herself: she is more of a listener than a talker; she is about as competent as most people; she likes to read more than most people; she thinks she is efficient at getting things done; she is not at all ambitious for herself and has difficulty being assertive; and she gets satisfaction from her children and her personal sense of well-being.

LOCUS OF CONTROL Rating 4

At present Mrs. R rates her life at point 4 on the ladder, whereas five years ago, it was at point 8. She expects that in five years she will be at point 5. Mr. R said the worse time of his life was from 1931-1937, during the depression, when he tried to find work, but couldn't. As a contrast, he said the best years were after he married his first wife. He got a job on a WPA project and after a while he got a better job with a junk company through a friend. He said he was very happy to be off the WPA job. He feels that he can control the events in his life to some degree, but he didn't know to whom he would turn if he needed help or advice. He said that people would come to him for minor help (transportation, when he was able to get around) but they don't anymore. It was very difficult to work because of his leg, and if he could do it over again he would want two good legs and another good shoulder. He said that if he could have these things he would be happy.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT Rating 2

Mr. R's first job was on a farm. He got this job because he knew the farmer and asked him to hire him. On the farm, Mr. R did everything from plowing to putting hay up. He said that he didn't like much of the work except mowing hay. He used to like to go to the haymow and sleep on rainy days. He worked mostly by himself, which could mean the farmer trusted him to get the work done. He had little or no contact with his fellow workers outside work. He said he went to work for a living and quit because he got tired of the job. Interestingly enough, he considers his life then as no better or worse than his situation now. He says he has no more and no less than he had then. His subsequent work history includes a number of jobs, but no details.

The first time he was unemployed was after he had his leg run over. He was laid up for five months. During this time, he and his first wife were supported by compensation. His wife worked for a time, but when he found out she was scrubbing floors, he wouldn't let her go back to work. His unemployment caused nothing but trouble, according to Mr. R, for him and his wife. She wanted him to find another job, so he'd go job hunting, come home and do the housework and some gardening. He feels there are no advantages to not working. He found his next job when his old boss came to him and asked him to come back. He really felt "wonderful" about working. Currently, Mr. R has cancer and a bad leg and shoulder. These have him on total disability. He hasn't worked for the past five years at least.

WORK ATTITUDES:

Mr. R would like to operate heavy machinery if he could, but he wouldn't like to operate a crane. He considered his job for the County the best job he ever had and felt he would have worked even if he had all the money he needed. He says that he wouldn't even consider going back to school or getting job training in order to get a better job. He says it's too late for him.

Most of the time he was alert and talkative. Sometimes, however, he seemed to be in a daze and didn't hear questions. This was probably the effect of his illness. He seemed to be happy with his life as it is, but he would have liked it much better if he could have two good legs and a good shoulder. For the most part one feels that his answers were as honest as he could be, because sometimes he just didn't know what was going on.

Mr. R died in May 1971, so all the information that relates to him is for the past.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY Rating 5

For both of the R's, this was a second marriage. Mr. R's first marriage lasted from 1940 to 1947, when his wife died. Mrs. R was married for twenty years and then got a divorce. The R's were married in 1956 and stayed together until Mr. R died.

Her comment on her first marriage was: "Twenty years I was married to my first husband. Twenty years! We just didn't get along. He wasn't home when he should be and he was mean when he was home. I don't like to talk about it. We just didn't get along. He could be just plain mean! He didn't care if I worked or if I didn't. My husband now doesn't want me working. Women should stay at home I think. It makes a close-knit family. And he didn't care when I sent the boys to the nurse or when I left them with sisters. He wasn't home much anyway, and when he was, he'd always go fishing with his friends. Now, I said I wouldn't get married so young, if I had it to do over, but no matter what kind of doing over I'd do, I wouldn't consider remarrying now. It'd be foolish at my age, and besides, I'd probably get another one who'd get sick like this one and I wouldn't want to take care of another sick one! And also, in this marriage, I can trust and have faith in my husband, and we can do for each other. Those are the valuable parts of marriage."

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE Rating 5

Mrs. R seems to accept her role as mother, although it is made more difficult because Mr. R has been disabled for so long and she has had to take over some of his responsibilities. In discussing the situation of a neighbor's child, Mrs. R showed her attitudes toward abortion. "She just don't listen. She should settle down and get a job and get a job and take care of that baby. They already took one away from her. Now a person like that, who's going to keep having babies and not caring for them should be sterilized. I'd rather see that, than abortion. I figure that if the good Lord put it there, I should leave it alone. That's why I felt so terrible when they gave me one. I've had seven children, two miscarriages, a baby that died after she was born and an abortion, and I still feel abortions ain't right. You know, they have ways now to stop having children and people should know about them. There should be more ways to learn about them, too. Now I myself can't have any more...no dear."

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES Rating 4

For the most part, the R's agree on how the children should be raised. He said that when one of them disciplines the children, the other stays out of it. He didn't say how they work out any differences in regard to the children that might arise. He said that he felt the normal responsibilities of a father toward his children, but said that it was harder for him to understand his daughter than his sons because she was more mischievous than they. As for his wife, he feels that her responsibilities lie more in the direction of her daughter but that she too is supposed to guide and correct her children just as he does.

As for her children, Mrs. R feels she is raising them about the same as most people she knows, and most of the time she knows where her children are. If her children were in serious trouble, Mrs. R thinks the best way to handle it would be to talk with them about it first and then warn them if it happens again they will be punished. Mrs. R does not think that children should be taught that in these days a person really doesn't know on whom he can count. She does not want her children to grow up with a fatalistic attitude toward life. She feels strongly that there is something a person can do about the way things turn out for him.

In regard to her own daughter, Mrs. R said, "If my daughter got pregnant there'd be some talking to! One time I can see a mistake, and if the kids didn't want to get married, I wouldn't make 'em. I guess I'd talk to a minister...see what he said. If she didn't want to get married...you know, it's not always the best thing to force a marriage if it's not going to work out...I'd keep the baby. If it happened again though, I'd see no excuse for it. You know, a lady's supposed to be feminine and have social graces. She's supposed to do things simply and quietly and to be responsible. If my daughter wasn't that, I'd tell her she'd either have to get married and straighten up, or get sterilized. If she did get married though, he'd have to be patient and understanding, because she's outgoing. And he'd better not be the jealous type. She'd need someone to help her with her work. Sometimes she just don't do nothin' and sometimes she just don't stop. It wouldn't matter where he worked or lived because she likes city life, and country life. But he'd better have a good amount of money because she likes clothes. I'm hoping that doesn't happen too soon, though. I'd like her to get a good education...learn something to provide for herself. I don't have the means to send her to college. I'd like her to settle down and have a quiet life. My oldest son, he needs an understanding wife, too. He likes to go fishing and hunting, you k now, and she's got to be easy on the money because he likes to spend it too. My youngest, he'll prob-never get married because of his functioning disability, but maybe it's too soon to judge.

"In any marriage, it's important that they don't hurt each other. Well, I just hope my sons have better jobs than their father had. Things should be easier with the money and with their health, and general conditions, I guess. My oldest boy probably won't go to college, but a boy can get an education without going to college. He gets trained on the job and can work his way up. Right now he's doing pretty well, so I think he'll be okay. All my kids are doing pretty well. My daughter's an A-1 student and she could go to college if she'd decide to, except she has trouble in math. They go to school like everyone else's kids and they play with their friends after school. I'm pretty satisfied with them. It's hard to get the best for your kids even though you try. A good mother's got to listen to 'em and see they get the right food and rest and teach 'em right behavior. My kids are okay."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT Rating 4

The four sons from Mrs. R's first marriage, the two oldest sons from the second marriage and Mr. R's children from his first marriage are not living at home. At present, there are two boys and a girl at home. The oldest son at home is active in 4-H, the wrestling team, and track and basketball. This one has been a disciplinary problem but has been put in an ungraded class, where he was much less of a problem by the end of the year. The youngest son is mentally retarded and hyperactive. This boy was born in 1962 and she soon found out he wasn't right. "First it was speech therapy--he didn't talk--then his ears, and then his eyes. Of course he can talk your ear off now. I had to send him to a special childrens' center and he still goes to a special class. But he's a big boy now. You should see him--only eight and he wears a twelve-year-old's coat. Yes, he sure is a big one. Anyway, he gave me more things to do, like bringing him to the hospital and seeing he gets to the special class."

Mrs. R worries about what kind of future her retarded son will have.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY Rating 4

Mr. R said he didn't know what his children think of him as a father because they told his wife that and not him. He did say that when he talks of leaving, the children tell their mother not to let him go. He says they are a close family and the only problems are when the children ask for money at the end of the month and they don't always have it. When he was able to, he used to take his sons fishing and they all used to go for picnics and farm visits to see animals.

As for things he used to do with his children, he said he used to do about everything with his children when he was able to. He used to go shopping with his wife once or twice a month, and the rest of the time he would go by himself.

Mrs. R feels that the relationship between her and her children is excellent.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS Rating 3

The major health problem in this family was Mr. R's cancer, which resulted in his death in May, 1971. For five years he was unable to work. He never served in the armed forces because in 1938 he dropped a motor block on his leg and broke it. At one time or other in his life he had two toes amputated. These injuries kept him from working after he sustained them.

Mrs. R was included in the pilot health study and reported that she had swollen ankles, sinus trouble and nervous tension. She had an operation for umbilical hernia. There were thirteen pregnancies, which resulted in seven children now living, five miscarriages and one premature birth. She was seventeen at the time of her first pregnancy. The medical examination showed mild varicose veins and flat feet, a combination that would limit her ability to stand at work and thus would limit employment. She is edentulous and wears dentures. As far as accidents are concerned, she was badly burned when her clothes caught on fire when she was a little girl. When working at a factory, she fell against a curb and fractured her skull. She thinks she has been healthy most of the time.

The children seem to be in good health, except that the youngest boy has had speech and other therapy for his handicaps.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES Rating 3

The house in which Mrs. R lives is old and run-down, with plaster falling off the walls and ceilings, linoleum cracked or missing, paint peeling and faded. However, her apartment is immaculate. It is not at all cluttered. Everything is in order, the floors appear swept, beds are made. The house seems spacious. The neighborhood is mixed private homes and apartments. The entrance to the house is cluttered and dirty. Inside, the walls should be painted. The furnishings and windows are in poor condition.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES Rating 6

Mrs. R sees herself as a very adequate homemaker, feeling that she keeps her house clean and neat and running smoothly. She fixes good meals and the clothing of the family is in good repair and is washed frequently. "Normally, I get up around six or six-thirty and give some coffee and breakfast to my husband. Then the boys get up. When they've finished their breakfast, I get my daughter up and give her some breakfast. After they all leave, I sweep around, make beds, pick up clothes, do the dishes--that takes until about lunch and then I can relax for a while. On some days I go to the market, and the kids usually get back when I get home. Sometimes they take snacks, but only sometimes. Then I have to start with supper. We all eat together then. After, I get to clean the kitchen and maybe I watch t.v., or write letters, or read a book, or just relax. Then it's usually time to get the kids to sleep. I do a laundry about three times a week. And I usually get a lot tireder when I do. You got to run the water in the machine and rinse it all out again. Takes time. If I do a laundry, maybe I don't get too much rest in the afternoon, and I usually look forward to that, not much though. You know, the days are mostly the same. I do like getting out of the house though. The part I don't like is bedtime. You know they never want to go to bed. Even bedtime isn't as bad as Saturday, though. That's the day you have to go shopping and the kids are home with all their friends running in and out and arguing about who's sleeping over. Now, I don't mind kids, I just don't know as I want them sleeping over all the time. Compared to Saturday, Sunday used to be the best day, but now I got to cook and be busy on Sunday too. The days are pretty much the same--they come and go and I think about the kids getting hurt. Everytime I hear a siren go by I think, 'Oh no, it's one of mine...' I guess I do the same things everyday, see a friend in the market maybe and I have a girlfriend in Syracuse. I like to stay home most of the time. It's quiet and I can get my work done."

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 4

Mr. R's mother worked six days a week dusting books in a library in order to buy furniture and clothes for the kids. When she was gone from the house, the older brother would take care of the younger children and "keep them in line." He said that she did not like the work because she was sick herself. His father worked for a disposal system and was unemployed from the time Mr. R was eight years old to about his twelfth birthday. During this time the family was supported on compensation. Both his parents are dead now.

Mrs. R's mother was born in Sweden. As to her own background she said,"I was born in Elmira, New York, in 1917--one of thirteen brothers and sisters. I was somewhere in the middle. My mother worked for as long as I can remember. Let's see, she ran her own restaurant, then she took in people's laundry and ironing and she went to work for other people, you know, housework for different women, but mostly she did restaurant work. She probably enjoyed working; she kept going back to it. While she was working us kids pushed each other in line most of the time--making sure nobody got out of line. My father was a sheet metal worker and he worked right through the depression, never having any trouble holding down a job. My first husband's parents were dead so I don't know if they worked, but my husband now--his parents worked. His father worked in a coal yard for sixteen years and for the City of Ithaca for twenty years. His mother worked too, at least up until my husband was thirteen, then she quit. She hated working but she had to help with the money."

Mr. R doesn't see his relatives too often but he does feel close to one brother and sister because they used to reciprocate his visits, the rest of his siblings didn't do this so he doesn't care too much for them.

He considers a man he used to work with as his best friend because this man comes to visit him two or three times a week. Mrs.R is not very close to her siblings or with her sons, but they do visit occassionally--perhaps on vacations. However, her husband's children from previous marriage live near Ithaca and she sees them more frequently.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 6

Mrs. R has friends who would lend her money in an emergency.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 5

The family has used public agencies such as the Special Children's Center and Williard State Hospital.

"But unless there's something special, I don't get to see many people--I don't go to clubs or church. The kids, they go to church sometimes. I don't like to push them because I think that'll only make them not like it more. One goes to Sunday school sometimes if one of his brothers or sister will take him back. The church is past route 13 and I don't think he's old enough to cross there by himself. Now I used to be Catholic and go to church all the time, but I stopped when I got married because my present husband is a Baptist. There ain't too much feeling for it anymore...Even so, if I needed someone to talk to I'd go go a priest or minister. They usually help."

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 2

She belongs to no clubs or organizations. Mrs. R rarely attends church or P.T.A. meetings.

Mr. R. feels very strongly that if he could stop littering he would be doing something to help make his community a better place to live in.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 2

The R's first received public assistance in August of 1965 when Mr. R was not working steadily because of his foot injury. Because they were unable to pay their bills, their gas and electricity had been turned off. Their case was closed the first time because they received$2,000 in retroactive workmen's compensation benefits. The second opening of their case occured in August of 1968 because their payments from social security disability insurance were not sufficient. After their benefits were increased, their case was again closed in March 1970.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENTS rating 2

When questioned about the welfare system of our country, Mr. R said he considered it a last resort for him but thinks it is good because it helps people who need it, but he feels it is bad because it helps some who don't really need it. He also said that he felt the case workers don't really know what is going on with the welfare checks because people who get checks cash them and go to the bars for the night, also that these workers are too tight with the aid. He told me that he felt the system could be improved by making sure the people who don't need aid didn't get it and by "softening" the case workers when it comes to giving aid to people who need it. He has known families on welfare and at one time was on it himself. At this time he was receiving checks and at another time he received food stamps but no checks. Mr. R said he didn't like being on welfare at all. He could give me no information on how his wife or friends felt about the system.

When Mrs. R married her second husband, she was able to stay at home and care for her children and house, as she and her husband wanted her to. This is so important to them, that even when they went on welfare, she did not seek a job. In recalling that time, she is very glad that welfare existed. She has also been involved with social services in the form of counseling and appreciates this additional aid. However, she is keenly aware of the inadequacies in both social security and welfare. The regular payments are inadequate and the provisions for many special problems don't consider many human needs. For example: transportation isn't provided for trips to the doctor or hospital, and one is allowed only one visit to the hospital. Food stamps cost too much and are impractical because of the lump-sum payment. Mrs. R is not only aware of these issues, but she can analyze the problems and is articulate in expressing her feelings. I think she feels that her family is entitled to more adequate aid. Mrs. R strongly agrees that most women receiving public assistance prefer to work. If assured of sufficient income from public assistance to meet her needs, Mrs. R would not want to work to provide a higher standard of living. She was not aware of the 1969 changes in the New York Welfare Law.

At this time it is hard to say whether her husband's death will motivate her to go back to work, probably part-time, or whether she will not try to work and remain indefinitely on welfare.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 6

"Mostly, I ran the house just like now--I get most of the money and my husband only keeps enough for his expenses--if he needs money for something else, he just asks for it. The big decisions aren't in my hands alone though--we talk them over and usually we agree, or one of us makes the other make the final decision, usually we agree though."

According to the caseworker, Mr. and Mrs. R appear to manage well on their limited income and are content with it. They do not desire any other existence.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 2

"I had my first job in my teens. I'd do odd jobs helping women. I guess it was about twelve to fifteen years old. I'm no good at numbers. I'd also babysit, which I suppose is just about normal for everybody. I'd get maybe three dollars a night from some people and they'd pick me up and take me home, and there were some that would give a quarter and keep me overnight. All these were after-school jobs. I met different people in these jobs--I guess I really did like them. They were pleasant people and they were good to me, except for one woman-when I was in the attic she wanted me in the basement, and when I was in the basement she wanted me in the attic!

"I quit school when I was about fifteen and took a job in Woolworth's. I had to go to school about one hour a week because I quit school before the age limit. The law says you had to go to school one hour a week if you quit school before the age. I liked working in Woolworth's too, I really did. I stayed there about six months--you know in those days people took their time about shopping, they'd also stop and talk to you. There wasn't any of the hustle and bustle that goes on today. The people I worked with were pretty nice but I didn't see them outside of work, except for one or two girlfriends that I knew. We'd visit each other and talk about the weekend, go to dances...

"In the meanwhile, my family was disintegrating. My mother and father had problems, so I got married. I remember, I was sixteen. It was mostly because of problems at home. My first son was born the month before I turned eighteen. Thirteen months later another child was born in February 1936. When the next child, my oldest son, was still an infant, my father died, a car hit him. Then I had a girl born premature and died the day after she was born--that was in July. I can't remember if that was one or two years after the second child. I was sitting on a swing and the chain gave way. Didn't even bother me at the time but I went to the doctor the next day, but she died anyway. I lost a lot of blood with her. I started bleeding at 4 A.M. and I didn't get to the hospital till noon. She was born just at noon. Then they sent me to a sanitarium for a rest cure, but I didn't want to stay away from my kids. I stayed there about six months and then one day I just walked out. I just didn't want to be there. Shouldn't have done it either because I just got pregnant again. When the doctor found out he sent me back to the hospital to have an operation--got rid of that one--I had an abortion. They didn't ask me or anything! They said it was for my health since I lost so much blood from the girl. I felt just terrible about it though. After the operation they sent me back to the sanitarium but I only stayed two months. You know how when you have little kids you want to stay home. I couldn't see that anything was wrong with me so I couldn't see why I should be there. All this time I was in the hospital I boarded my kids out with a practical nurse. She had a state license so I sent them there. She was very good and the boys liked her. She was their mama, they were young enough to think so, you know. After the two months in the sanitarium I came home and had a few miscarriages in the next couple of years.

"Then I went to work at the Eclipse. It was when that war started. What year was that? Must've been '41. I made bombs at the Eclipse and took the defective ones apart. It was a dangerous job. They had dynamite in them. One man got blowed up, but it didn't bother me and they paid extra. I probably started working their because of the war or because I needed extra income, both's possible. We worked in split shifts-the factory was open all night. I'd work all morning, or in the afternoon, and sometimes I'd work all night. I liked that job, certainly did. It was a combination of things. When I was taking bombs apart, I could go out and work on my own, and when I was finished, I'd go inside and work on the line and talk with the people. I like a job where I can sort of move around, shift from job to job, sort of run my own things. While I was in the factory, a girl lived in to care fo the boys. She was a teenager and I guess they told her to get a job and take care of herself or they'd put her away. So I gave her a job. But my husband began paying her and buying her things like jewelry, so it almost didn't pay for me to work. In 1943 I quit work, not because of that girl, but because I was pregnant. The child was born on March 18th, I think it was 1943. I stayed home for quite a while then, till I went to work at Woolworth's. My sister cared for the boys that time. Then another child was born five years later. Let's see, that would make it 1948. I guess it was about that time that I moved to the country in Pennsylvania. I only stayed there for a year because I didn't like it. There was no water, I was all the way up on a mountain where there was no transportation and the wind blew right through that house. And my husband--he just left me up there in that mountain with the kids and my mother and went back to his home. I went back too, and worked in Newburry's. It was nice to meet people and the work was not hard but they only wanted to pay you 50¢ an hour. I could move around and do diverse things but they wanted me to be every kind of saleswoman. If someone came in and wanted to buy a hat or a dress, you had to tell them it looked nice when it really didn't and that never sat well with me anyway. Anyway, I only stayed there about a month when I got a job at a factory. I spent five years there and that was my best job. I made typewriters and ran the drill press. I know that factory one end to another. I liked talking to the people in the factory and working on my own thing at the same time. My husband came back as soon as I moved back home and my mother moved to Ithaca to live with my sister. I figured they were his sons so he had a right to be there, but he started bothering me in the factory. He was a tool maker there. My boss kept moving me from place to place just to keep him quiet. Well I finally got tired of it and I walked out of his life--got a divorce. Can't remember what year that would be--probably 1954. After the divorce I quit the factory. I had to get out of that town so I moved down to New Jersey on a lake. I had to get everything settled--get the boys in school, you know, so I didn't work right away. But then I needed Christmas money so I went to work in Woolworth's. I had to quit after about six months because they wanted me to work late and there were no buses back to the lake. I'd have to take a taxi and I figured I wasn't earning any money that way. I saw women advertizing that they needed help, so I began doing odd jobs for women around the lake. I usually got a dollar an hour and car fare. All the boys were in school and I was lucky because they never got sick much. In general, if they did, I took a day off and my bosses never minded. My husband, he didn't believe that we were divorced and he followed me to New Jersey. So, I started having problems with him again and I went back home for about a month. Then I moved to Ithaca where my sister was staying and left the boys with their father. I figured they were his responsibility just as much as mine. The boys didn't like it though. I got a job in a laundry but I only stayed there a while--maybe six months--because I didn't like it. I didn't mind it when I was doing what they said I was supposed to do, which was to mark shirts, but they had me lifting heavy rugs. My arms ached and my legs ached and it wasn't a woman's work. So, I got a job working for an elderly lady. She couldn't do anything for herself. I had to bathe her and feed her, but this got monotonous because she always wanted my attention, like a baby. I worked with her from 8 Monday morning till noon on Saturday and there wasn't much I could do with my free time."

She married Mr. R in 1956. She worked about three years until a child was born in 1959, her first girl. She has not worked since.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 3

When both Mr. and Mrs. R worked, either neighbors or his wife's sister would care for the children. He was very satisfied with his sister-in-law, and said she was very sweet to the children. Whenever the children were sick, his wife would stay home. When questioned as to whether or not he was satisfied having other people care for his children, he said,"No." This seems a contradiction since he said he was satisfied having neighbors and his siter-in-law care for his children. Perhaps he is satisfied with the people he has had but just does not like the whole idea of it.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 4

Husband's attitude about the wife working:

Mr. R. summed up all questions in this section with "No." He feels that most women go to work because they want to get away from the house. He gave no opinion on what other men think of having their wives work. He feels his wife has worked in the past to help out with the money; it was her decision to go to work and he feels she liked to work. Although his second wife is not working now, he feels that if her going back to school would help her, he would not object. However, she hasn't gone back to school and he doesn't know if she is contemplating this or not. When she worked in the past, he says he wasn't much help around the house. They tried to take turns cooking on weekends in order to keep the meal schedule as constant as possible. He also used to do whatever needed doing but doesn't any longer. He feels that it isn't any business of his wife's family or friends if she worked. He said he didn't feel threatened or neglected when his wife worked. He wouldn't say what he felt were the advantages or disadvantages of having his wife work. It seemed as if he either didn't hear the question or didn't understand it.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 2

Now that Mrs. R is a widow and has no preschool children, her working will become a real issue. She has had enough work experience so that she should be able to go back into the labor force and earn a substantial part of her financial needs. She may, however, feel that it is more important to remain at home and do a better job with the three children who are still in school.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3

Mrs. R has not worked for twelve years and the effects of her earlier employment have little influence on the present situation.

IMPLICATIONS

With her husband's death, the situation for Mrs. R is quite changed. She now has no preschool children at home, she has no husband to care for, and she is an active woman who enjoys things happening. It would seem as though if there were some job she could do, she would be well off to accept the employment.

Her present family has had a good start with a husband at home during their childhood. During the times he was able to, Mr. R did things with the children and provided a stable environment.

This case has provided a great deal of verbatim material on Mrs. R's attitudes and feelings about the work situations she has had, and about her satisfactions with her homemaking now. Mr. R also was shown to be a man who enjoyed work and the satisfactions it brought in filling the time but also in feelings of satisfaction in supporting a family. He was satisfied with the way his home was being cared for and pleased with his wife and children.

The contrast of this second marriage with Mrs. R's first marriage points up the difficulties of young marriage, an immature husband, and the difficulties of a woman trying to manage children alone through harrassment from her husband. Mrs. R said she would stay in school if she had it to do over. Young marriage did not prove to be the escape from a disintegrating family of origin that she had hoped. It is good to see how a second marriage can work out.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. W AND HER FAMILY

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY - 4

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 54
Education: 9th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 7 children
5 girls, 2 boys
age range 17 to 32 years

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 1
Number of divorces: none
Husband's age: 63
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: unemployed
Husband's usual occupation: writer, social work, factory work

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on public assist.
No. of times case closed: none
No. of years on welfare: 11

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: non-worker
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: none

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: 0
No. of full-time jobs: 0
No. of part-time jobs: 0
Total no. of jobs held: 0
Longest period of employment: -
Average job duration: -
No. of months unemployed: 132
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 132 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 1

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1930's		-	Highway construction Mission social work			
1935		married	adult ed. teacher	has not worked		
1937						stillborn child
1938	child					
1941	child		dep't. store			
1943	child		factory foreman			
1945	child					
1947	child		had to stop working. Hasn't worked since		case opened, due to Mr. W's disability, and has never been closed	Mr. W's heart condition
1953	child					
1963						Mrs. W's gall-bladder operation

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 5

Mrs. W, a non-worker, is in her late fifties. Her hair has not greyed too much for her age. She is tall and about seventy pounds overweight. Her appearance is neat. She is a strong woman with no feminine frills and has always been a hard worker. Her manner is a bit rough.

This is the first marriage for both Mr. & Mrs. W and they have been married since 1935. They had seven children but at present the family consists of Mr. and Mrs. W as there are no children living at home. At the time of the research interview there was a teen-age daughter living with the family. Because of Mr. W's health the family has a long record of public assistance.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 4

Mrs. W is reluctant to describe herself. She offered the idea that she hoped that people thought that she was agreeable. Mrs. W could not be pushed any further on this effort of self-description. She is a very good housekeeper, and makes the best of everything. She is also very tolerant of the ways of little children. She is deeply concerned about her children, without getting overinvolved. She has a good sense of humor, and laughs frequently. She is very affectionate with her grandchildren, talking and playing with them. Mrs. W is cautious in her observations to strangers and does not reveal many aspects of her personality.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 4

- Religion is undoubtedly the most important part of their life in that it both guides their action and helps them to accept life as it comes. Indeed, Mr. W stated that religion is the "vital part of their happiness." It is a belief in the concept of the "saving grace: if you have faith in the teachings of Christ and accept them personally then he will be your salvation." Mr. W's beliefs are passive in that they help him to accept his misfortunes but they do not include withdrawal from worldly affairs. Mr. W thinks that if a person really believes, he will want to become active and help other people. Thus, religion serves a dual purpose for the W's, both as an inspiration for positive action and as an aid in adjusting to their problems.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Mr. W has a long work history although for the last 25 years he has not been gainfully employed because of poor health. After finishing high school, Mr. W worked on highway construction and maintenance for a number of years. His duties were varied, including payroll clerk and surveyor's assistant. The workday lasted eight hours, five to six days a week and the pay was 40¢ per hour. In the early years of the depression Mr. W was a social worker at a non-denominational mission in Owego, New York. The emphasis of the mission's work was on helping people with their problems rather than providing necessities. In extreme cases the mission aided the poor in securing assistance from the local welfare departments. Mr. W also worked for the State of New York during the '30's in connection with an Adult Education program. The project established night courses in rural areas and hired practice teachers, thus giving financial aid as well as practical experience to college students in teaching programs. Mr. W spoke with enthusiasm of these last two jobs; he seems to enjoy being with and helping other people. He spoke of his contacts with students, (previous interviewers and students who live nearby) in the context of helping them.

Mr. and Mrs. W were married in 1935 in the middle of the Depression years. He was working for the mission at this time but this was basically part-time volunteer work and paid little. His regular work at this time was with Newberrys in Ithaca. Following this he worked for several years for the J.C. Penney Company department store as an assistant manager. His main responsibilities on this job were supervision of the stockroom and basement merchandise.

After working at Penney's for several years Mr. W's health began to fail and his doctor advised him that the confinement indoors was not agreeing with him and that he should attempt to find outdoor work. He left Penney's and obtained a job with the International Salt Company as a foreman supervising the extraction of salt from brine and later the purification of brine for medical research.

Eventually Mr. W's health deteriorated further and he was forced to stop working. Doctors informed him that he had developed a heart condition which wouldn't improve and that regular employment would involve too much stress. This point marks the W's decline into poverty. Not only was Mr. W forced to stop working but his driver's license was also suspended as a result of the heart condition. He was unable to obtain part-time employment except on a highly irregular basis, working for farmers on occasion. The W's were then living in a two-room house with their five (at the time) young children. Their only reliable resource was a large vegetable garden from which they canned food for the winter months.

In 1947 the W's were forced to go on welfare. Efforts at vocational rehabilitation for Mr. W were unsuccessful. Tests at Cornell University indicated that his aptitude was basically literary and the possibility of magazine writing was suggested, but this never materialized as a dependable source of income, although he has had some success in recent years.

In addition to the garden, Mr. W also supplements their income by writing magazine articles. Mostly he writes for Organic Gardening, a California publication and he has apparently done much research on the topic, in addition to many years of experience. He also writes occasional articles on local history. Mr. W emphasizes the work aspects of writing but explains that while the payments are fairly substantial when they come, they are not dependable as a regular source of income. If Mr. W could have his choice he would prefer either social work or writing. In this respect he probably enjoys greater work satisfaction than many who have much higher incomes.

While poor health and the resulting inability to work, isolation and dependence on welfare have undoubtedly been detrimental to Mr. W's self-esteem, life satisfaction appears to be relatively high. He has remained active within circumstantial limits by gardening and writing and takes considerable pride in their home. His strong relationships with his wife and children are factors contributing to his self-esteem. By reading widely he keeps closely in touch with current affairs and is thus able to combat a social and physical isolation to some extent. The most important factor, however, is his deep religious faith which enables him to accept things as they are and make the best of them. Mr. W is a talkative, gentle person who seems to have found a substantial degree of inner peace. But he is also a proud man who prefers not to discuss his personal problems. In this respect his knowledge of current affairs is an effective defense mechanism which enables him to protect his self-esteem in the presence of others. Perhaps Mr. W could be best described as a wise, old philosopher who has managed to find harmony in life despite its hardships.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 2

This couple was married in 1935 and this has been the only marriage for both of them. The relationship has been a particularly stable one and there is a strong feeling of interdependence. Both share deep religious beliefs and a strong interest in the children. Mrs. W has always assumed the traditional role of wife and mother but now that her husband is somewhat incapacitated she helps him with the chores outside and he helps with the housework. Decision making has been a joint effort and arguments have been settled by reason rather than force. The major area of disagreement was over the children, rather than finances and at present Mrs. W says there is too little money to fight over.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 4

Mrs. W's major concern at the present time is her children and her grandchildren. She says that children make the home and that she would not trade one of her seven children. She looks forward to the weekends when her children can visit. Mrs. W wanted to take care of her illegitimate grandchild. This fourteen month old girl was taken away from her mother, Mrs. W's fourth daughter, because she was not taking proper care of her. Mrs. W has asked the caseworker if she could have the child, since she does not have that much to do. The child was placed in a foster home. The caseworker said that it usually does not work out if the grandmother takes the child. Mrs. W knows the foster home, and says that the little girl has filled out. She thinks that her daughter should have put the child up for adoption in the first place, but is fully aware of how difficult it would be to give up one's own baby. She does not condemr her daugher and did not condemn her when she found out that she was pregnant. She expressed her regrets over her daughter's pregnancy, but did not explode. She said that this was when her daughter needed love more than reproaches. She said that she "...wouldn't have shown up back home," if she had done the same.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 4

The W's child-rearing techniques as described by Mr. W would seem to have been quite healthy. He emphasized that he and Mrs. W have always attempted to work together to share the decisions and responsibilities involved with bringing up the children. The discipline, however, was usually administered by Mrs. W. Generally this was limited to scolding; physical punishment was rarely needed. The children were expected to help with home chores and the older to help the younger. The use of babysitters was very rarely employed and the children were never left alone for more than very brief periods. Although the W's have encouraged the children to make their own decisions and lead their own lives the family remains close, and with the exception of the daughter in India, all return home frequently.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

Mrs. W had eight pregnancies. The first of these was stillborn. Five girls and two boys are living. Their ages range from 17 to 32. The first five were born before they went on welfare. All but one of these children are self-supporting. Five of them are married, and one of these is divorced. The oldest girl is a missionary in Bombay, India. She is a registered nurse, and is single. She is devoting herself to her religion, and Mrs. W does not believe that she will marry. Mrs. W keeps a picture of an Indian child whom her daughter has taken care of in India.

Two of Mrs. W's daughters are married. The older one has a sixteen month old girl and is expecting a second child. Her husband is a truck driver. She had a factory job, and quit to have her baby. She wanted to go back to work but was not rehired due to a slow-down at work. Mrs. W's relationship with this daughter improved after the baby was born. Before this, Mrs. W did not hear from her and did not know when she got married.

Mrs. W's third daughter, age twenty-five, is married, but has no children. Mrs. W says that she is a nervous person. This daughter works in an insurance office in a medium-sized city. Mrs. W does not feel very close to her.

Mrs. W's fourth daughter, age twenty-three, is not married. She is not working at the present time. She is on welfare. Mrs. W does not understand this girl at times. Mrs. W said that she does not care about her looks, her illegitimate child, working, or any of the things that Mrs. W cares about. This daughter worries Mrs. W because she hangs around with colored people. Mrs. W said that she does not hold race against people; that there are good Negroes and that there are bad Negroes, like there are good and bad whites. She objects because her daughter's friends seem to get into trouble. This daughter finished high school, whereas the first daughter did not finish. Mrs. W said that she brought up this daughter the same as the other children, and that she was not different as a child. Mrs. W believes that her daughter needs aid from Mental Health. The daughter went out to California with a Marine. She later called home and said that she was pregnant, but not by the same man. She also said that she was glad that she was pregnant. Mrs. W loves this grandchild who is now in a foster home as much as the legal grandchild.

Mrs. W's third child, a boy, is twenty-seven. He was married for four years, but he and his wife decided to get a divorce. They parted friends. Her served in the Air Force, and is now practice teaching. He will graduate from college in June of 1971. He will be a music teacher in the secondary schools. He has a scholarship from his college, and has held part time jobs.

Mrs. W's second son is twenty years old and has been married for almost one year. He married a professor's daughter and works in the local university. He often has his parents to dinner, and takes them to church.

Mrs. W's seventh child is a girl, age seventeen. At this time last year Mrs. W was very worried about this girl. She was living at home, and had gotten into drugs at the local high school. The girl, realizing that she needed help, made arrangements to go to Teen Challenge, a religious institution for drug rehabilitation. She has been there for almost a year, and is off drugs. She will stay there for two more years, and then possibly go onto Bible school. Mrs. W thinks that she was into hard drugs, but she is not sure. She says that there has been a tremendous change in this girl. When they went to visit her, they did not recognize her at first. Pictures of the girl before and after show an almost totally different girl. Mrs. W is very proud of this daughter, and is proud of her close association with religion.

Mr. W seems quite happy with his children's accomplishments, even though the family has not been free from problems in this respect. His attitude seems quite philosophical in that he believes while children may seem to be making the wrong decisions, they may not be wrong for them. Along the same line he expressed the firm belief that parents should not try to lead their children's lives for them once they become adults. He also thinks that it causes difficulties if parents move into their childrens' homes. As a result, he and Mrs. W refused when one daughter tried to convince them to move in with her family because they both felt that it would disrupt the lives of both generations.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY   rating 4

Mrs. W has good relations with almost all of her children. The oldest girl saw them frequently when she was in the United States last year, and writes now. The second daughter was visiting with her child for four or five nights. The third daughter will be visiting this weekend. This daughter apparently has been in the process of ending her marriage. She is a very good office worker, and is moving up in her company. They are sending her for further training. Her husband does not work steadily, and objected when she had to go to New York City for business. In fact, he never allowed her to go. Her older brother, who is practice teaching in a nearby town, will bring her home. He visits home almost every weekend. The fourth daughter, although Mrs. W does not understand her or approve of all that she does, is in frequent contact. Mrs. W worries when she does not hear from her in a week. She worries because she is just "...roaming around the streets," and "...hanging around with riff-raff." She has talked to the daughter's caseworker about her, and they agree that a change came over the girl in the spring of 1970, about half a year after her baby was born. Mrs. W and her husband both think, although they hate to admit it, that this daughter really should be working and not on welfare especially since she no longer has the baby with her. The fifth daughter cannot visit home for another year or so. They have been to see her in Philadelphia. The sons are in frequent contact. Mrs. W has accepted the failures of two of their children's marriages without bitterness. Mrs. W and her children are supportive of each other. She is also crazy about her grandchildren and gets along very well with her son-in-law. One son-in-law will take things from her that he will not take from his own mother, who worked while he was a child.

When the children were home they were a source of many social contacts but now the W's see fewer friends and neighbors. It seems likely that the W's have adjusted to this period more easily than some couples, since Mr. W was home throughout most of the child-raising years. This allowed them to remain close to the children and each other, preventing the divergence that sometimes takes place during those years. The children are a continuing source of satisfaction and visit frequently, often taking their parents for rides which breaks the isolation to some extent. While the W's stressed acceptance of home responsibilities to their children, they also emphasized independence in making their own decisions and this was probably responsible for their later success.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 3

Poor health has been a major problem in this family as Mr. W has a heart condition that incapacitated him in the prime of his working life. He is now in his late sixties. Deafness is another physical problem with him. His wife has fairly good health, with some exceptions. Everyday after doing her housework she puts her feet up on a stool because her feet and legs bother her. She is not as strong as she used to be, especially since her gall bladder operation. She also had an operation on an infected hammer joint toe.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 5

The two-story house which the W's have occupied since 1953 is badly in need of paint and repairs, but is in excellent condition for the amount of money they have had to put into it. The place is neat, well-kept and has a warm, homey atmosphere. They are located in the country near some other older homes and some nice, new middle-class lakeside homes. The area is dominated by Lake Cayuga. The house has plenty of space. On the first floor, there is a large kitchen with both a coal and a gas stove. There is one bedroom, a large living room, and a front hall area in which there is a dining table, an easy chair and the heater. Other bedrooms are upstairs. It is furnished to the best of their ability. The most striking effects are the family pictures, which cover at least three generations. There is also a piano. There are some knickknacks and mementos from her children. There is a toy box for grandchildren. The bathroom does not have a flush toilet, and Mrs. W uses a coal stove for cooking in the winter. She has a wringer washer.

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 6

On a typical day now, Mrs. W gets up around six o'clock and cooks breakfast for herself and her husband. She then does the housework. Her husband takes care of the outside chores which are not too heavy, such as gardening, putting up plastic storm windows, and leaf raking. She mows the lawn in the summer. It takes her two days to mow the lawn, doing first one side, then the other. Her husband also likes to help out with the household chores, but she does not like for him to do so because of his heart condition. She said that he feels that he has to help. Mrs. W cooks lunch, and then watches soap operas in the afternoon. She prepares dinner, and after that she watches television. There have to be regular meals with a man in the house. She is usually in bed by ten o'clock. Her time is also filled with baking, sewing, reading books, writing letters, and reading the Bible. She is also making a home for her children when they visit, which is often. She had no free time when she was raising the children, so she is enjoying it now.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 4

Mr. W was born in Ithaca and has lived in the area most of his life. He had two brothers, both of whom are still alive. His father was a minister as a young man and during that time the family lived in the City of Ithaca. In later years, however, and throughout his adult life he has lived in the surrounding rural areas.

After leaving the ministry Mr. W's father worked for Montgomery Ward, first as a door-to-door salesman and later in helping establish the stores in the area. Mr. W recalls that his father was the first person to introduce oleo-margarine in the area, distributing the new product to local retailers. He also worked in the chemical division of the Atlantic Woolen Mill Company at one time. Mrs. W's mother was a housewife all of her life. While she did work with church and women's groups she was never actually employed outside of the home.

In comparing his childhood with his own family's situation Mr. W's differentiates little between economic conditions then and now. While his father did acquire some property, this did not provide a substantial increase in the family's income. He recalls that times were hard and employment slack, particularly during the winter months. As a result, it was necessary for most people to make provisions for winter long before bad weather arrived. In his words, "We had the necessities", but adds that there were few luxuries, mostly only during the holidays. Overall, Mr. W describes their standard of living as "typical of most people of that period." Relative to the general increases in the standard of living it seems accurate to describe Mr. W's economic position as having declined substantially as the W's have been on welfare for over twenty years with a family of seven to provide for.

One of Mr. W's brothers has also suffered health problems. After working for many years as a chemist at Cornell he was severely injured in a fire in the laboratory and was incapacitated for many years. He now works at gardening and landscaping. Mr. W's other brother was a medic and later a food inspector for the Air Force during World War Two. As a civilian he was a good inspector and is now retired.

Mrs. W comes from a stable and secure childhood family. There were eight siblings, five of whom are still alive. Her father worked in a local industry in the heating system. She says that he was a steady worker, and a man that "...people could set their watches by." Her mother stayed at home to raise all of the children. After the children were all grown, she went to work in a local dry cleaning establishment. When Mr. and Mrs. W wanted to go shopping, the grandparents would watch the children. All of Mrs. W's brothers and sisters own their own homes and are working or doing well. **Mrs.** W wishes that her family were closer and that they had better relationships. Mrs. W's childhood family was hard working.

VII. FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 3

Mr. W has not been able to work for over 20 years as a result of his heart condition. His income of $170 dollars per month comes largely from Social Security payments. The rent is paid by Old Age Assistance and food stamps provide an additional supplement.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 4

The W's participation in community affairs is limited by their lack of transportation, although they do manage to attend church regularly. When the children were home they were a source of contact with many other people, as they visited back and forth with their friends, many of whose parents the W's came to know. However, now the children are all away from home and the W's see their friends and neighbors less frequently as a result. Mr. W also notes that "people aren't as friendly as they used to be, they don't have time for others."

If the W's are socially isolated to some extent, this is in part compensated for by frequent visits from their children, some of whom are home nearly every weekend. Not only do the children provide a constant source of pride and interest, but they also enable the W's to get away from home occasionally to attend church and go for rides. Mr. W also compensates for his isolation by reading widely to keep in touch with current affairs.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 3

At this time the W's are not participating in any community activities but the church.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

When Mr. W developed the heart condition in 1947, the family did not apply for assistance immediately. Mrs. W went to her mother's home and helped there for a little money. They turned in their life insurance policies and lived on that money until they were given public assistance on March 11, 1948. The case record shows that they have been on welfare continuously since that time.

Mrs. W said that they often turn to their caseworker for advice on some problems. There was only one caseworker with whom they could not work. They also in contact with their daughter's caseworker and talk to their minister.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

The W's have an average monthly income of about $170. Most of this comes from Social Security but they must depend on Old Age

Assistance to cover the rent. Mr. W recalls that at the time he left International Salt Company he was short $50 in wages for qualifying for Federal disability insurance. While Mr. W doesn't seem bitter he does complain about the difficulty of making both ends meet on their small income. If it weren't for the garden he doesn't think they could manage. Mr. W is slightly self-conscious about being on welfare and critizes the few recipients who give the rest a bad name by misusing their assistance checks. While granting that welfare had been "helpful", he complained that the Department of Social Services sometimes failed to allot them all of their legal benefits. In the particular case he cited the Department failed to give them an allowance for the children's school expenses until a State inspector corrected the situation. For this reason he supports the idea of Welfare Rights Organizations, although the W's are not themselves members.

Mrs. W said that she and her husband did not want to go on welfare. They felt that it seemed like charity and they went on it only because of children. If it had been only herself and her husband, she said that they would have tried to manage without it. She does not think that anyone who goes on welfare wants to. She thinks that the majority are not able to work. She said that her friends' attitudes did not change after they went on welfare. She added that she did not think that they should change. The children were not treated any differently because they were on welfare since many of their friends were also getting help.

The caseworker feels that this family has adjusted to a life of assistance, but they could use some supplementary money if the wife were to go to work.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 5

Their life is easier compared to the child-raising years. They still have financial problems in stretching the money to cover their needs. They use food stamps, and are usually able to cover all of their food needs with the food stamps. They spend $36.00 a month on the stamps, and also receive the $20.00 bonus. Mrs. W also cans vegetables from the garden, and they have a dirt cellar where they keep root vegetables. Mrs. W does not think that people should complain about the fact that food stamps cannot be used for soap and paper products. She says, 'You can't have everything.' Both she and her husband think that the food stamps are very beneficial.

Mrs. W handles the money in the family and always has. She does not remember how this came about; just that is has always been that way.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

Mrs. W has a very brief job history. She quit high school at the age of sixteen to help at home because her mother was sick. Mrs. W did not regret having to quit school. She did not like school because it "...was hard for her to learn." Her first and only outside employment was housecleaning for some elderly neighbors. She returned to this job for a month after she was married. She did this more to help out the neighbor who had gotten sick. She earned $3.00 per week for her work. She did not mind the work, but felt no desire to seek it out. Mrs. W said that people would do anything in those days (the Depression years) to earn a little money. She does not understand how young people demand good wages rather than be concerned about what they can do for the employer.

In either 1965 or 1966, Mrs. W took in three children as a favor to a neighbor who was working. She received $15. a week and gave them breakfast and lunch. Mrs. W did not approve of the language that the children used, and the way they tore up the plaster and wallpaper. Mrs. W did not want to tolerate their rudeness, and after six weeks the arrangement was terminated. Mrs. W did not get any other children.

EMPLOYMENT OBSTANCLES AND RESOURCES rating 3

One obstacle to Mrs. W's working was the lack of satisfactory day care arrangements for her children.

One year after the W's went on welfare, Mrs. W decided to go to look for a job to help support the family. She was on her way out the door when her husband pleaded with her not to go. He did not feel up to taking care of the infant girl and the other children. She said that it made him sick to see her go. Mrs. W then decided to stay home. She said that she would have gotten a baby sitter if they could have afforded it, and then gone to work.

Mr. W holds the traditional view that a woman's place is in the home and his wife agrees. He particularly feels that women with young children should stay home. With seven children it would obviously have been a difficulty for Mrs W to work, especially considering her husband's poor health. Neither of the W's believe in having other people care for one's children, so daycare would probably not have been an acceptable alternative.

Mrs. W has no specific training for any type of job. She has always done housework and taken care of the children. She does not want to leave her husband during the day because of his heart condition. (The phone was put in at the doctor's request; otherwise, they would not have one.) She also knows that he would not fix his meals if she were out to work. Getting a ride to work would be well nigh impossible; only one person on her street works in the nearby city, and will not take riders. Mrs. W said that most people do not want to bother and they are afraid of insurance. If Mrs. W worked, she would have to do her cooking in larger amounts, and her laundry and housekeeping at night. She said that her son feels that she has done her job and earned a rest, after raising seven children.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

Mr. W's attitudes towards women are quite traditional in that basically he believes that a "woman's place is in the home." He qualifies this by saying that it would probably be all right if the home was not important to herself or her husband. He feels that a woman can't work and maintain a pleasant home and he emphasizes that a woman with young children should be home to care for them. He also feels that a man's pride is hurt if his wife works, especially if she earns more than he. While Mrs. W did work briefly before they were married she hasn't since then. Mr. W's feeling is that she hasn't desired to work and that having seven children "made it out of the question."

Although Mr. W does tend to hold the traditional stereotypes of a woman's role, he is not really averse to the idea of women working. He spoke of association with women employees at Newberry's and Penney's but doesn't differentiate between male and female performance on the job. While Mr. W believes that education is also valuable for a woman, his reasoning is that it enables her to help out in hard times. He also believes that it "wouldn't hurt" for a man to help with housework if he wife works. He mentioned that Mrs. W often helped him in the garden and that he in turn helps her with household chores. It is probably accurate to say that while Mr. W is not personally in favor of women working, he believes the decision should be made by the couple involved. It seems likely that in the case of the W's there was no disagreement in this respect. Both apparently share the same views and there were no grounds for conflict.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 1

The prospect for future employment of Mrs. W is very limited.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3

Mrs. W has not worked.

IMPLICATIONS

The W's do not live or think poverty. In fact, her husband is very concerned about helping others. They are religiously oriented people. They believe in welfare rights and their own rights. Twenty-three years of welfare dependency has not bent the spirit of Mrs. W. Realistically, only an increase in income would benefit the W's. They are receiving adequate medical care under Medicare, and Medicaid. Their lives are fairly comfortable when compared to the economic struggles of the past. Their children visit them often, and the W's provide them with emotional support. Although their family life and the individual childrens' lives have been stormy in the past, the W's family is still strongly together.

Mrs. W has almost always stayed home and taken care of the family. If Mrs. W were to go to work, her husband would not prepare adequate meals for himself. Both feel Mrs. W has done her job by raising seven children, and has earned a rest especially since she now has some health problems, and does not have the stamina that she did in the past. When her caseworker proposed that they might have to move from their isolated country home so that Mrs. W could go to work she went to one evening class concerning women reentering the world of work. Mrs. W does not believe that she should work without her husband's approval, and he does not approve and does not want her to work since the health of both of them might decline. Mrs. W still provides strong emotional support for her whole family and it would be difficult for her to fulfill the role of mother, grandmother, and wife as well as be a wage-earner. It would also be almost impossible to place her as she has no skills, no job history, and did not graduate from high school. Her age of fifty-five or so is also against her.

All but one of the children have had one problem or another. Two are either divorced or separated. All but the oldest girl and boy had very difficult adolescent years. The dependence and passivity attributed to welfare children is manifesting itself in the fourth daughter. The others are all self-supporting people. They have problems, but these are not due to welfare or poverty per se. The emotional problems were probably aggravated by being so poor and on welfare, but might have shown up even if they had had an adequate income from employment.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. J AND HER FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY - 4

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 43
Education: 9th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 14 children
11 girls, 3 boys
age range, 3 to 26 years

MARITAL

Current status: divorced
No. of marriages: 3 (2 common law)
No. of divorces: 1
Husband's age:
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: -
Husband's usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on
No. of times case closed: none
No. of years on welfare: 7

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: non-worker
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: none

The figures below are based on the eleven year time span of 132 months

No. of months employed: -
No. of full-time jobs held: -
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: -
Longest period of employment: -
Average job duration: -
No. of months unemployed: 132
No. of periods of unemployment: 1
Longest period of unemployment: 132 mos.

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 2

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1941				hospital kitchen		
1943		married				
1944	child					
1945		divorced				
1946		common-law marriage				
1947	child		steady work in a business			
1949	child			helped husband in his business until 1952		
1950	child					
1951	child					
1952	twins			at home until present time		
1953	child					
1955	child					
1957	child		Mr.J alcoholic unable to support family			
1958	child					
1960	child					Mr.J hospitalized and dies
1961					Soc.Sec. payments	
1963					case opened to present	3 children sent to foster homes, 1 to state institution
1965	child					
1967	child					3 children returned

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION rating 2

Mrs. J was classified as a non-worker since she has not worked at all since 1953. Mrs. J is forty-three years old, caucasian, and has dark eyes and hair. She is approximately 5'9" and quite overweight. She appears to be in good health although her records show that she has had some trouble with high blood pressure (probably connected with her weight). In general, her appearance is a bit disheveled. Mrs. J is a good-humored lady with very little to say about her family. All she wants is to "grow up with my children." To her a good mother is, "One that will take care of them (the children) and take care of their needs; see that they're well provided for; and see that they're loved equally." Mrs. J had a total of fourteen children, one by her first husband whom she divorced only a few years after marriage, eleven by her second (common law) husband, and two by a third man who continues to live in the home but who does not accept the responsibilities of being a father. Mrs. J says the main problem with her children is that they don't have a father. Five of the children are no longer living at home so things are gradually improving as far as space and confusion go. The family lives in a large home in an urban area. The home is extremely poorly kept both inside and outside and the children are not regularly fed or cared for. There have been complaints from neighbors and schools, especially since Mr. J became ill eleven years ago and finally died. Mrs. J worked both before her marriage and after until she had a total of six children. While she worked, the children were cared for by her mother but finally she thought there were too many for her mother to manage and she stopped work. If children are old enough to go to school, she feels a mother should work to "save her sanity" rather than for extra money. Although money is tighter now than five years ago, she finds that she has more time to do some reading, especially the dictionary, and "meditating." Mrs. J does a lot of informal counseling of kin and neighbors and enjoys a rather busy life of socializing with others at the expense of her house and family.

SELF-CONCEPT AND EVALUATION rating 6

Mrs. J is a casual kind of person whose existence is very much on a day-to-day basis. This kind of informal and unplanned way of life is how she manages her house, her children and her social life. Her horizons are very limited with her children and visits from casual acquaintances and her brothers and sister making up her world. Mrs. J describes herself as a loner but in reality she likes being surrounded by people. When she does go off by herself in the evenings, she usually ends up at a bar with people she knows. Mrs. J likes having as few commitments as possible and wants to feel free.

Despite or perhaps because of her rather existential life style, Mrs. J is almost always available for those who would like to talk to her. Her children bring their friends to her for advice. Mrs. J's self-esteem seems to center around her being able to help others who need some sort of counseling. She enjoys having people dependent on her. She seems to get pleasure in knowing that they need her.

When asked to give some adjectives that her friends might use to describe her, she said, "Ha, I really have no idea. I have both good and bad friends and I don't know what they'd say." She could not give me any opinion that either her children or her husband might have of her. Her opinion of herself is that she's "all woman. That's what everyone tells me." A person that's "all woman" is also one that is "feminine."

Mrs. J has been described by the welfare caseworkers as being "troublesome, uncooperative, and an excellent liar, and an inadequate mother because of how she deals with her caseworkers and her unwillingness to follow their suggestions."

Mrs. J is a passive woman most of the time letting life and circumstances flow around her but she is not defeated or over-burdened. Rather, she takes what each day brings with a casual kind of response and doesn't let many things bother her. Infrequently, Mrs. J may respond aggressively if she feels someone is imposing upon her and trying to tell her what to do.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating 2

Mrs. J feels that things were going their best when she first lived with Mr. J. In her own words, "When we first got married, things were beautiful. We had a beautiful home, a nice car, money. Now we get what the Irish man shot at."

Things were probably at their worst when Mr. J died in 1961. Mrs. J was left with twelve children and no real means to support them. All she receive was Social Security payment. Mrs. J could not manage the children or her home. Consequently, the children began to show signs of being neglected.

Neighbors started complaining to child welfare unit of the Department of Social Services. The little ones were seen running around the neighborhood with few clothes on and were not getting regular meals. All the children began taking unnecessary and too frequent absences from school. Psychological tests given at school showed that one son was suffering from an unstable home life. Mrs. J applied for public assistance in February 1963 and three children were sent to foster homes. The one boy was sent to a state institution for troubled children.

Circumstances did improve for the family. After four moves in the county, Mrs. J seems settled. All her children are home except the one still at the school and three who are married. Mrs. J thus feels that things are going better for her now. Her children are finally all growing up and leaving home. As each one leaves, Mrs. J finds that life is a little less complicated. In general, Mrs. J has accepted her situation in life and has a fatalistic view of things. She also believes that the government should help her out as much as it can. This is her right. She feels that she must "use" people and agencies in order to survive. Thus she has been viewed as troublesome and even a nuisance to the Department of Social Services.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 3

In 1943 Mrs. J at age sixteen left school after the tenth grade and married Mr. W who was in the service. They never really lived together since he was stationed overseas. Two years later, in 1945, they divorced. From this marriage M was born in 1944. In 1946 Mrs. J and Mr. J began living together in a common marriage. Mrs. J worked almost all the time in a family business until she had six children and finally stopped work in 1952. From 1953 to 1960 she had six more children. Mr. J continued to work at the business and supported them until about 1957. The welfare record points out that Mr. J was not able to work steadily after that because of excessive alcoholism. Around 1960 Mr. J developed cirrhosis of the liver but he would not get medical help for his condition. Finally in 1961, he was hospitalized for several months, finally dying of malnutrition in October. Mrs. J says she felt a great loss when he died after fifteen years of living together.

The father of her last two children is Mr. H, whom she has been living with since the death of Mr. J. Mrs. J did not want to talk about Mr. H except to say that the differences between them make it impossible for them "to live together in a more permanent way." He lives with her but not as head of the family like Mr. J. In general, Mrs. J did not want to give much information about any of the men.

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating 4

Mrs. J feels that her only really meaningful relationship with a man was with her common-law husband, Mr. J. Mr. W was only a part of her life for a few weeks when they were both very young. Mr. H is present in her home but not really a part of the family in any way except that he is the father of her two youngest children.

Mrs. J said that she got along extremely well with Mr. J. They never seemed to disagree or fight. She feels that they had the "perfect relationship." She did not mention his excessive drinking or the problems it must have caused her. Mr. J was head of the house even though he was always busy and didn't know what was happening at home. Perhaps because he died, Mrs. J feels she must idealize the relationship she had with him, although it is obvious that she cared for him and that he provided some kind of stability and emotional support in her life for many years.

Mrs. J feels that she wouldn't remarry if she had the chance. "I like to be free and untied."

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating 3

Mrs. J has had fourteen children and she says that she loves them all equally. When asked how many children she would have like to have had, she decided that three boys and three girls would have been perfect. Perhaps having that many children has forced Mrs. J to not take her maternal role too seriously or conscientiously so that she isn't overwhelmed. Instead she has allowed the children to just grow up more or less on their own. She does not believe in birth control for herself but doesn't care if her daughters use whatever method they prefer. Mrs. J has not talked to them about this.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating 2

Mrs. J feels she was the one in charge of "bringing up the children." Her husband was working and had little, if any, contact with the children. Therefore, they were her responsibility and she made most of the significant decisions. In rearing her children, Mrs. J says that she tries to instill on them some basic concepts such as "work hard, do well in school, be good to your brothers and sisters," but could not describe how she did this. "With these things in their heads, they should be able to stay on the right track." In reality, the children in many ways "reared themselves," running their own lives. Her welfare record not only implies but explicitly states that the children have little, if any, supervision at home. In general, Mrs. J lets her children do what they want to until she can't take it any more. If they don't want to go to school, she does not insist that they go. In fact, the only time she ever enforces directions is when she wants the children to do the housework.

Mrs. J said that if a child misbehaved or purposely got into trouble, she used to physically punish him. She definitely believed that "spare the rod, spoil the child." Since she felt the child had the capabilities to make the right choices without guidance, Mrs. J thought that "a good lickin' might give him the final push he needed to get on the right track." Mrs. J feels that she can't physically punish her children anymore because "they're too big and that kind of thing went out." Instead she said that she takes away "their most precious possession" and warns them that if they do it again, they will be punished more severely. The case record pictures Mrs. J as having little control over the children. The children are too head strong and independent to mind her or be disciplined by her. As with other aspects of their lives, the grooming and cleanliness of the children also seems to be left entirely up to each individual child rather than supervised by Mrs. J.

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING AND ADJUSTMENT rating 2

The three oldest girls are now married and no longer living at home and a son is in the service. One daughter is at college and one son is away at a special school. Two girls have dropped out of school but not found jobs. She says, "They just sort of hang around." The other six children are all in school except the baby, three years old. The school psychologist has suggested that two of the children need counseling but Mrs. J doesn't believe him. "They are just kids. They don't need to go to any shrink!" A daughter who is thirteen, is described by Mrs. J as the "steady one of the family. She keeps us all straight. Our little mother." Only one child really likes school and attends regularly. The next to the youngest just started school this year. When asked if she had trouble with any particular child, Mrs. J answered, "I couldn't pick one. There's always a few bad apples in every barrel." Mrs. J seemed unable to think of her children as having emotional and behavioral problems. In her mind, they do not seem individualized enough so that she can understand how each of them is developing and what their individual needs and strengths are. Mrs. J is able to see how the thirteen-year old functions because she depends on her, but she could not really say why the one boy was attending a special school.

When talking about her children's future, Mrs. J feels that none of them really know yet what life is like. The girls want to get married and have fun. Mrs. J thinks that "they think life is one big bowl of cherries." In general, she feels that some are on the "right track but others haven't yet found it."

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating 2

Mrs. J's children seem to love their mother and she loves them in her own way. However, the relationship that Mrs. J has been able to maintain with her children seems to be weak. The children find little need for any guidance or assistance from her. She has little influence in their lives. Instead they seem to seek help from their own brothers and sisters. It appears that the children are incredibly close. But on a whole, the J family seems quite disorganized and unstable. Mrs. J appears to be unable to manage her household and children and to give any kind of direction to her own life or those of her children. Being head of the household seems to be beyond what Mrs. J can manage effectively.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating 3

HEALTH PROBLEMS AND PRACTICES

In general, Mrs. J sees her family as being quite healthy. She finds little need to go herself or take her children to visit the doctor. Again, her welfare records show a different situation. There have been many times when her family has been in dire need of both medical and psychiatric attention.

Mr. J had been ill for a long time before he went to see a doctor. He was losing weight because he couldn't eat. After he was hospitalized for months, he died of malnutrition in 1961. Mrs. J includes illnesses in her fatalistic view of things. "Sickness happens no matter what you do to prevent it so there is no need to spend money on constant check-ups at the doctor's." In fact, Mrs. J views all illness as something that drains the pocketbook rather than something detrimental to a person's physical well-being.

VI. HOMEMAKING

PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating 2

The J family lives in a large run-down house. It is situated on a major road, in a fairly well-populated area outside Ithaca. The yard is quite cluttered with an assortment of boxes, old broken toys and a little bit of garbage.

Once inside the house, it becomes apparent that the outside appearance is similar to the inside state of affairs. The kitchen is large with all the needed facilities. The counters are cluttered with food containers, dirty dishes, and an assortment of other items. The floor is covered with garbage and dirt. The air smells like stale food mixed with dirt. The rest of the downstairs includes a very large living room and what would have been a dining room. The living room is furnished with a few chairs, a sofa, a bureau, some small tables and various other odds and ends, none of which are in good condition. It is in a constant state of disorder and confusion. Like the kitchen, it needs cleaning. The dining room is empty except for a built-in ledge with shelves above it in one corner. The walls need painting and repairing. The furniture, walls, and even floors seem to be just recently destroyed. The welfare caseworker blamed this on the "destructive tendencies of the J children."

HOMEMAKING PRACTICES rating 2

The J household is an unorganized and "do-it-yourself" place. Everyone takes care of what is necessary for him. General kinds of things like cleaning are done by anyone who is willing or more commonly, these tasks are not done at all. The way meals are served is an example of what happens. Mrs. J says that she fixes some meals for the younger children and the others eat when and what they want to.

VII. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating 5

Mrs. J's social life consists mainly of informal associations. She says that she spends most of the day and night at home with her children. Mrs. J sees most of her friends in the early afternoon and evening. Her visitors usually are her sister, her brothers, Mrs. J's mother, her next door neighbor, and a few others. She sees these people in her own home and plays cards or has a few beers with them. They "socialize" in this very natural, informal way almost everyday. Her brothers are not married and her sister is just recently divorced. Mrs. J finds that she's as close to her friends as she is to her sister and her brothers. She says her siblings "figure me as their mother. We lost our mother about ten years ago. I took her place." Mrs. J admires her father because he "didn't have a lazy hair in his head." Both her parents have been dead for approximately ten years. Mrs. J believes that her parents were better off than her present family. Even though her parents never discussed their financial problems with her, she knew they were doing all right because her father was always working. Another reason Mrs. J gave for her parents being better off than she is that "I had a father. My kids don't have a father."

Mrs. J likes to get out of the house whenever she can. Nights she goes out alone to play bingo and have a few drinks. She knows that she really can't afford this luxury but she likes to do it anyway. When she finds that she has a few moments free during the day, she likes to "meditate or read the dictionary or take a nap." The time she spends with her acquaintances may be actually much greater than the time she spends around the house working. The records describe Mrs. J as being a very social person who continuously seeks out company thus leaving the housework either to the children or left undone.

In general, Mrs. J's associations with people are not very deep or long with the exception of her family. Mrs. J develops friends for as long as she lives right next door to them. Once she moves, she forgets her old acquaintances and makes new ones. In her own words, "I don't have any best friends; I take them as they come and go."

If Mrs. J were in trouble or needed advice, she wouldn't go anywhere or ask anybody. She feels that there is no one who really can or wants to help her. As an example, she said that her caseworker, like all others, "is a jerk. They're all a bunch of halluees. All they do is give you the run-around." On the other hand, Mrs. J finds that many people come to her for advice. She says that she likes to help anyone who needs it. The people that she helps the most are her children's teenage friends. Her daughter E said, "She's always thinking of everybody before she thinks of herself."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating 2

There is no one to whom Mrs. J can turn for extra or emergency financial help.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating 2

Mrs. J is extremely distrustful of most community agencies and organizations. She feels that she will be criticized and made to do what she does not want to do if she seeks help from an agency. Her general attitude is that she is not responsible for the situation in which she finds herself and that all she wants is to be left alone.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY rating 2

Mrs. J said that she never really wanted to belong to any organization. In general, this can typify both Mrs. J's attitudes and relationship to the rest of society. She feels that her niche in life had been pre-determined by the time she finished school, and that there is no way to alter or influence anything now. She must just live day-by-day, doing the best she can. Therefore, her duties are limited to only her home and her family. There, too, she believes that she really can't make any significant alteration in what the future may hold. She finds no need or reason to develop any sort of relationship to anyone or anything outside her home. Furthermore, she feels that, in many ways, it's society's obligation to compensate her for being "fated" into her specific niche.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

Mrs. J's case was opened in February 1963 and has remained open since then. Her relationships with her caseworkers have usually been hostile and unproductive. There has been mutual distrust and resentment. Mrs. J rejects any outside forces which intrude on her life and is suspicious of the motives of the people who are trying to influence her. In social work terms, there has been very little "movement" in her case and much "resistence."

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

In essence Mrs. J believes that the caseworkers are more interested in saving their agency's money rather than serving the people in the community. Therefore, she feels that she is not receiving the right amount of money that she deserves. She feels that "welfare is my right and I like receiving it." The only thing she doesn't like is the bureaucracy that "gets in the way." Mrs. J also uses food stamps. While Mrs. J feels she has a right to be supported by the government, she doesn't like having a caseworker. "Why don't they just send me more money and leave me alone."

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating 2

Mr. J handled the money. He paid the bills, allotted a certain amount for food and then split the rest with Mrs. J. When there were financial decisions to be made, they both were involved. On her own, Mrs. J is as casual with financial matters as she is with other things. "What gets paid, gets paid. What doesn't get paid, waits. I can't worry about it."

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating 1

Before Mrs. J was married, she worked in a hospital kitchen from 1941 to 1943 part time while in school. When she got married, she stopped working because she felt that her husband Mr. W should support her even though he was away from home in the service. After she divorced Mr. W and started living with Mr. J, she didn't work for about four years. Then Mrs. J had a job in her husband's bakery business. She worked there from 1950 to 1952. When the children were sick or needed some special attention she could stay home. By 1952 with six children, she realized that she was needed at home so she stopped working. Mrs. J has not worked since then.

Mrs. J's mother never worked while her children were growing up. Her father worked in construction steadily and never had the opportunity to be home with the children. Therefore, her mother felt that she should stay home, clean house, and take care of her children. Once her four children had grown up and left home, she found that she had nothing to do at home. She worked for a while in a restaurant. Only one brother has a job and he also works for a construction company. In her eyes, her siblings are "all just too lazy."

EMPLOYMENT OBSTACLES AND RESOURCES rating 5

According to Mrs. J, the main obstacle which prevents her from working is her many children who need her at home. However, it is probably the "laissez-faire" way she lives which would interfere the most in Mrs. J being a dependable and responsible worker and which keeps her from wanting to work. While Mrs. J was working, her mother took care of the children. Mrs. J never had any sort of problems with her because she felt that her mother could perhaps do a better job of taking care of the children than she could. Mrs. J feels that Mr. J was perfectly satisfied with these arrangements. In fact, "He didn't give it much thought. He knew my mother. She was clean and neat as a pin and she didn't drink or smoke. What better could you ask for. He knew that." When Mrs. J realized that there were just too many children for her mother to take care of, she stopped working.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating 1

Mrs. J prefers to stay home rather than work. Though she strongly declares that a mother's place is in the home with her children, she does feel that many mothers need to get out of the house every now and then. When asked what sort of job she would take if she were to start working now, she said, "Hm - I wouldn't know. I'm tired of houseowrk so it wouldn't be that. I'd like to be a waitress of some sort so I could meet different people; I like people." Mrs. J feels that if she had all the money she needed and her children were all grown up, she might possibly work but probably not. She thinks most women work because they want to. "I think the biggest majority of women work because they like it and a lot of them work to save their sanity." Mrs. J feels that most women should not have to work if they don't want to. "They should all be able to live with whatever their husbands can make with the wife's income as extra. A husband should be the one and only real provider. If he cannot work, then the family should go on some sort of welfare."

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating 2

For the first time since she stopped working, Mrs. J is talking about the possibility of future employment. However, there is not much possibility that this will ever be more than just a fantasy for Mrs. J. Mrs. J is skillful at projecting the kind of image of herself that she thinks her listener wants to see.

Even if Mrs. J were strongly motivated inwardly or externally to seek a job, and did find one as a waitress or some similar position, there does not seem to be much evidence for thinking that she would be able to remain working for a very long period of time. Given her life style and casual attitude toward bringing up her children and her enjoyment of being free to respond to circumstances as she wants at that particular moment, it is not likely that Mrs. J could react in any different kind of way to a working situation. Even when she was working for Mr. J, she was really free to work when and how she wanted. As she put it, "This job was really just part of my household chores."

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating 3

If Mrs. J were to work, there would probably be little change in her role as mother and homemaker and few, if any, direct effects on her family or her housekeeping. When she isn't working, her influence and efforts in these areas are very limited. This situation is not likely to change if she were working. Mrs. J seems so imbedded in her present way of living that working would probably not really have much effects on her feelings about herself or her attitudes

IMPLICATIONS

Mrs. J is perhaps the stereotype multi-problem welfare mother with too many children, poor control over the children, and poor housekeeping habits. Her sociability and acceptance of life as it is are probably her greatest assets. Her attitude toward the social workers reflects the hostility such women feel toward those representing society who try to change a comfortable style of life. Mrs. J's attitude toward birth control is sad and reflects again her passivity in being willing to take whatever comes. Three daughters are already married and two more have dropped out of school and it is possible to look into the future and predict that Mrs. J will have many grandchildren. Mrs. J had a good model in her mother who kept everything "neat as a pin" but that model did not seem to have an effect. One wonders how the model she has provided will effect her daughters.

It is unlikely that Mrs. J will ever get a job. The only type of job one could imagine her taking would be one where she could continue the informal social arrangements she now enjoys, such as working in a bar where she already goes. Here she could continue to see the same people as she does at home and could also carry on the kind of informal counseling which seems to give her so much satisfaction.

Mrs. J has shown an ability to survive under harrassment of social agencies and schools and has learned to stand up for what she considers her "rights." Until 1963, she did not accept public assistance so was able to cope. If there had been fewer children, she might have been able to manage her home better and would not have abdicated her responsibilities of trying to manage the children and the house. Her attitude toward these tasks was probably a survival technique for her.

The cycle of poverty induced and perpetuated by too many children for a woman to handle and a man to support is the crux of this case. Where were the obstetricians with their vaunted doctor-patient relationship, social workers and Planned Parenthood workers to bring this woman information needed to control her family? If her attitudes were resistant to planning, what have we learned about how to change attitudes? Actually, we have no information about the efforts anyone made in this direction.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. T AND FAMILY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND FAMILY CHRONOLOGY - 4

Basic Demographic Information (as of December 1970)

MISCELLANEOUS

Age: 38
Education: 5th grade
Race or ethnic background: white
Children and ages: 7 children
4 boys and 3 girls
age range, 4 to 18 years

MARITAL

Current status: married
No. of marriages: 1
No. of divorces: 0
Husband's age: 42
Husband's education: -
Husband's work status: unemployed
Husbands usual occupation: -

WELFARE (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: on public assistance
No. of years on welfare: 11 years

EMPLOYMENT (Jan. 1960-Dec. 1970)

Current status: unemployed
Work typology: Non-worker
Skills and training: none
Usual occupation: none

The figures below are based on the time span of eleven years or 132 months

No. of months employed: 130
No. of full-time jobs held: 1
No. of part-time jobs held: -
Total no. of jobs held: 1
Longest period of employment: 2 months
Average job duration: 2 months
No. of months unemployed: 130
No. of periods of unemployment: 2
Longest period of unemployment: 96 months

Chronology showing important changes in the family - 2

Year	Birth dates	Marital changes	Husband's work changes	Wife's work changes	Welfare changes	Other changes
1943			bakery			
1945			foundry			
1948			factory			
1950			factory			
1952	child	married				
1953	child		series of short-term, poorly paid jobs			
1955	child					
1958	child					
1959	child					
1962	child					
1965			custodian, college		case opened	Moved to Ithaca
1966			factory			
1967	child		custodian, college			
1968			factory	cleaning woman at college, 2 months		
1969			city garbage collector		case still open	
1970			unemployed			daughter married

II. THE WOMAN - INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION

rating 2

The T family is well-known among the various social service agencies in their community as being a "multi-problem" family. Mrs. T is a large, dark-haired woman with a pleasant, pretty face and unkempt appearance, 38 years old. She suffers from extreme obesity, diabetes and gall bladder trouble. Because of Mrs. T's lack of education and skills and general incompetency and inconsistent functioning with her family, she is quite dependent upon her husband and her caseworker in helping her to cope with the everyday decisions, situations and the crises of the family.

Mr. T is a very thin, worried-looking man of 42 years, with a gaunt face and a mild,pleasant manner, "the silent backbone of the family". While on the surface he seems long-suffering and quiet, underlying this first impression is a nervous restlessness and low self-esteem. At times,the responsibility of holding his family together seems to overwhelm him,and he takes long walks or is gone for several days. As a young man he had a stable pattern of employment as a factory worker. This pattern changed about six years after his marriage in 1952,when the T's had five small children. This period was characterized by a long succession of part-time, low-paying jobs of short duration, inadequate welfare payments,and constant moves because of eviction.

Since moving to Ithaca in 1965,the pattern has improved somewhat, although Mr. T has had five jobs in six years - two in factories, two custodial and one with the City Department of Public Works. He is now unemployed due to a back injury. His morale is low as are his hopes for the future. The family has been partially or totally dependent on welfare for the past ten years,and currently their grant from the Department of Social Service is their only source of income. Mrs. T has had only one job. For two months in 1968,she was a cleaning woman at Ithaca College and enjoyed the experience very much. However, difficulties with her children and health problems prevented her from continuing.

The T's have seven children, three girls and four boys, aged three to nineteen. The family has a history of problems with their children. P, the oldest daughter, age 19, is married and supporting her husband. Son M, 18, is mentally and emotionally retarded and has run away from home and been in trouble with school authorities many times. After a year at the state school in Industry, he is now home but can't hold a steady job. Son K, 9, has had emotional problems and a long record of truancy, but is now doing fairly well in school. Daughter N, 16, and daughter L, 12, are capable students but are also truancy problems. Son O, 13, is truant constantly and has gone to the Mental Health Clinic. Son J, 4, has been seriously ill as a result of malnutrition.

The family has been forced to move seven times while living in Ithaca, constantly living in over-crowded and unhealthy conditions. Mrs. T finds it extremely difficult to manage her home and the general atmosphere is one of chaos. Despite these many hardships and crises which she and her family endure, Mrs. T has a rather positive outlook on life, feeling that their situation has improved compared to their situation before moving to Ithaca. Because of the cooperation of the Department of Social Service and other agencies, the family is better able to cope with some of their problems and seems to have an optimistic feeling about the future. In addition, there is a close tie which binds the T family together and gives the members a certain amount of strength and support. This is especially true of Mr. and Mrs. T who have a close marital relationship, lasting without separation since 1952.

SELF-CONCEPT rating - 2

Mrs. T feels that her friends, children and husband would describe her as easy-going, having a nice personality, willing to be helpful, a good mother and wife and a good friend. She has no hesitation about ascribing these characteristics to herself. Other than her appearance, the only undesirable qualities Mrs. T attributes to herself are impatience and screaming at the children. She seems to have no awareness of her incompetence and inability to cope with family problems. However, Mrs. T appears to have little self-image or identity. Her selfhood seems to be submerged in her family and she has great difficulty in thinking of herself as a separate individual with a life and ideas of her own.

> "I sometimes forget I'm even here I'm so busy with my family - just like I wasn't even around."

Mrs. T seems to have a volatile disposition and is prone to verbal attacks and loud outbursts. "I blow my stack all the time."

Mrs. T gets a lot of satisfaction from her children, husband and friends. She sees as problems working, family health, her looks and her housework. Despite the satisfaction her family brings her, Mrs. T also sees the children as her most important problem.

An additional limitation for Mrs. T is being almost illiterate. "I have taught myself a little." She became ill when she was twelve years old and her parents took her out of school. She would like to go back to finish high school but school makes her nervous.

LOCUS OF CONTROL rating - 3

Mrs. T sees life from a rather fatalistic viewpoint, seeing events as fixed in advance with little that she or her family can do about them. But she is not pessimistic or defeated in her thinking about her present situation or her hopes for the future. Nor is she bitter about all the crises and extreme hardships of the past. Rather, she and her family accept what life brings to them - the hard times and the good times.

> "There is never a best time or a worst time. The best and worst are always mixed. Life is never all good or all bad. We just do the best we can and handle things as they come along."

One of the better times in Mr. T's life seems to have been when he had good-paying and stable jobs after leaving high school through the early years of his marriage. He was able to function well as a worker and provide for his family and he had good health. "In those days I really felt like a man." His children's emotional and physical problems were not evident yet. Mrs. T feels that her best years were when she was first married. She no longer had to be living at home. There was security and happiness with her new husband and only limited responsibilities for managing children and her home. Both Mr. and Mrs. T agree that their family life is better than conditions in their home when they were growing up. While their natal families were materially better off, there was a great deal of physical violence, drinking, mistreatment of children and unhappiness. The T's are very proud that they have been able to avoid these conditions in their own family, "We may not have much, but we're a lot happier."

The worst time for the family were the years in Auburn, from 1958 to 1965, when Mr. T found it impossible to find a steady job that paid enough to support the family. Time after time he would get a job and the family would move into an apartment, only for him to lose the job and the family to be evicted. Much of the time they had to stay with friends because they couldn't afford their own apartment, and there were times when Mrs. T had to walk the streets with the baby in the cold because they had no place to go. Several times they went out and returned to find their apartment padlocked.

On one occasion they were able to buy some furniture on time but Mr. T lost his job and the furniture was repossessed. Often Mr. T had to borrow money from their doctor so the family could eat.

The move to Ithaca in 1965 brought improvements in terms of income and stability, although Mr. T's prospects for employment are not promising. The Department of Social Service is able to provide the kind of outside help which the family needs to cope with its physical and emotional problems and to be the source of support and stability which is lacking within the family.

Mr. T tends to be a good deal more defeated and pessimistic than Mrs. T. His worries are all centered around the family's future. He would like them to have their own home and he wants success for the children. He worries about finding a job, as his back has not improved, and even carrying groceries up the stairs bothers him. Most of the factory work he is accustomed to is too heavy now and he would be satisfied if he could get work as a janitor. In spite of the problems, he still feels that the children have much better opportunities than they did in Auburn. Mrs. T optimistically thinks the future will be better and her family will accept and handle what life brings to them. She could not define any future goals, except for the children to finish school.

III. MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

HUSBAND'S FUNCTIONING rating - 2

Mr. T was raised by an aunt and uncle who were Polish immigrants, since his own parents died when he was a few months old. His aunt and uncle are no longer living either. While outwardly quiet and mild, one soon realizes that he is a nervous, restless person, and at times his mind seems to wander off to other things. His eyes have the worried, uncertain look of a man who has had to face many problems and expects to face many more. Mr. T is described by his wife as being a person who "keeps everything to himself, rather than talking over his feelings". In relation to his uncle and aunt Mr. T is downwardly mobile, from upper to lower working class.

Mr. T started working in 1943, when he was 14 years old, at the Auburn Bakery, working after school and Saturday. Mr. T quit school after his sophomore year and took a full-time job with Henry & Allen, Inc., a farm equipment company, doing mostly foundry work for three years. His next job was with the U.S. Hoffman Company, which made 16 millimeter shells for Army guns. This was an assembly-line job and Mr. T enjoyed it. He worked there for two years until the government contract ran out. Mr. T next worked for the Detroit Harvester Co., which bought out the old Henry & Allen factory in 1949. After eight years, the company moved away and Mr. T was left without work. During these years he had married Mrs. T and had five children.

1958 seems to be the turning point for the T's. Most of the more prosperous industries moved away from Auburn, and Mr. T had great difficulty finding a job. He worked for a few months for a plastics company, but his wife became ill and lost a baby, and these problems kept him home so he lost his job. He obtained a succession of short-term jobs, most of which were part-time and paid poorly. "Just any kind of work I could get." These were the hardest years for the T's as most of the children were young and it was impossible to find a job that provided an adequate income. "Those years wore me out as a man." For five or six years during this period the family had to depend on welfare to make ends meet.

In 1965, the family moved to Ithaca with the hope that Mr. T could find a steady job with an income adequate to support his family.

His first job after moving to Ithaca was as a custodian at Cornell University, where he worked for approximately six months. He then found a job as a machine operator at Morse Chain. Mr. T enjoyed this job and was able to get a lot of overtime, but after 19 months he injured his back lifting and was forced to quit. The family had been evicted from their home at that time, and the Department of Social Services had relocated them in Newfield, making transportation an additional problem.

Mr. T next took a job as a custodian at Ithaca College where he worked for 17 months. During this period the T's were having serious problems with their oldest son, M, who was skipping school most of the time. As a result, Mr. T frequently had to stay at home or leave work to straighten things out at home and eventually lost the job. His next job was on the assembly-line at National Cash Register Company where he worked for 17 months. A strike by the local union was followed by a big lay-off and Mr. T was among the victims. He next found a job with the Ithaca Department of Public Works as a garbage collector. After nine months, he reinjured his back, and his doctor told him that he must avoid any kind of heavy work. He has been trying to find work ever since then and has enlisted the aid of the State Employment Service and the Department of Social Services, but has thus far been unsuccessful. His morale and his job prospects are low. "What is a guy supposed to do when all the cards are stacked against him?"

Besides his back injury, Mrs. T seems to be the cause of many job losses for Mr. T because she doesn't realize the importance of his being at work on time and regularly. Instead, she keeps him home to settle family problems she can't cope with. "It seems like life gets to me once in a while and my husband has to take over and straighten things out - especially when I had my miscarriages or the kids are skipping school."

Despite disliking to stay home and not work, Mr. T most of the time functions adequately as a father and husband and might be called "the silent backbone of the family".

MARITAL SOLIDARITY rating - 6

The T's seem to have a fairly good marriage and appear to be quite close. As Mr. T says, "We get along good." This is the first marriage for both of them and there have been no real separation periods. Mr. and Mrs. T enjoy shopping together but do not go any other place as a couple. They share rather equally in decision-making and authority in their family except when handling the children. There is nothing Mrs. T would change about her marriage. Their only disagreements appear to be in the areas of discipline and money.

IV. PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

ADJUSTMENT TO MATERNAL ROLE rating - 2

Mrs. T seems to have an ambivalent feeling about her maternal role. On the one hand she describes herself as "a good mother because I do the best I can" and feels that her children are close to her. "I really get along with them good." But she seems not to be able to cope with the children even though she tries. She sees the children as somewhat of a problem, especially now that most of them are teenagers. It is the opinion of her welfare workers and those who have interviewed the family that Mrs. T is incompetent as a mother and that the children's problems are due largely to her inconsistent and inadequate mothering and the conflict with her husband in handling situations.

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES rating - 2

It is evident that the T's love their children and want the best for them even if they are unable to provide for them as they would like to. Mr. T says that they have gone without many things for the children's sake. "In 18 years I've been married I had only two pairs of shoes." Mrs. T has most of the child-raising responsibilities and does most of the disciplining. Mr. T doesn't take a stand with his children. Mrs. T mentioned that when the children get into trouble or want to know what to do, her husband usually tells them to "go see your mother", but when she tries this tactic Mr. T refuses to get involved. She also complained that Mr. T does not support her decisions about the children even when he sends them to her.

The conflicts are usually settled in a verbally violent manner. As Mrs. T puts it, "You can hear us all the way to City Hall." Mrs. T is the erratic kind of mother who loves and coddles her children one minute and yells at them the next. "I wish I was more steady with my kids instead of giving in to them and then blowing my stack, but I can't seem to do it."

CHILDREN'S FUNCTIONING rating - 1

A case study could be devoted to the Ts' seven children because of the many problems they have. Mrs. T says her biggest problem is dealing with her children. The oldest, P, is a 19 year old daughter who was born out-of-wedlock to Mrs. T. P quit school when she was 16 and has worked as a page in the public library ever since. She was married last year after becoming pregnant. Her husband returned from Vietnam last year and has made no attempt whatever to find work, which bothers Mr. T. However, the relationship appears to be satisfactory to P in spite of the fact that she must provide for both their needs.

The oldest son, M, is 18 and has had serious problems most of his life. He is an epileptic and has had severe seizures since the age of one. While the seizures are now under control, he went without treatment for 13 years as a result of his mother's ignorance about the disease. He has been in a class for slow learners and has consistently tested low on IQ tests, although the psychologists who have worked with M feel that the tests are inaccurate and that his real problems are emotional in nature. During the first years in Ithaca, he ran away to a friend's home in Auburn many times. He has been accused of several thefts, though he was never convicted. About this same time he was constantly truant from school. He was finally sent to the State School at Industry, New York (May, 1968 - June, 1969), but is living at home again, though he has not returned to school. Although M has worked, he cannot hold a steady job - he works until payday and then fails to return. He is apparently unable to understand or accept responsibility. Mrs. T has told him that if he is going to live at home he will have to pay $15.00 per week for room and board but he answers, "I don't have to pay board, I live here."

Daughter N is 16. An attractive girl, she is reported to be a good student, although sometimes truant, and would like to continue her education after high school. She is doing well in a BOCES motel management class.

Son O, age 13, who is designated as the child with the most problems, has been to the Mental Health Clinic. Mrs. T explained that she now understands that part of O's difficulty is that being a middle child he feels that he has no place in the family - that no one really likes him or is concerned about him. Mrs. T says that she and her husband are trying to make him feel important and needed.

Although he is reported by school authorities to be a very capable student he is truant most of the time. Apparently he has a strong mechanical aptitude and spends much of his time disassembling old phonographs, etc., and using the parts to build something else.

L, the third daughter, is 12. She is doing well in school and appears to have no serious problems, except a mild case of epilepsy.

K is nine. Mrs. T says that the youngest son, J, who is now four, was previously very ill and nearly died. Because the youngest received so much attention, K felt that he was unloved.

K has also received psychological treatment, both at school and at the county Mental Health Clinic. He has been involved in several minor thefts, as well as being constantly truant. When it became apparent that his parents were unable to cope with his truancy, K was placed in a foster home in Newfield. By some error of judgement, the chosen foster parents were Negro, to whom K is quite hostile. At any rate, K ran away the first night and came home, telling his parents, "I'll go to school, I'll do anything," if he didn't have to go back to the foster home. Since then he has been much less of a problem.

The youngest, J, age four, has been seriously ill and was hospitalized for several weeks. The basic problem was malnutrition and as a result the doctor refused to allow the baby to be returned to his parents after his release, having him placed in a foster home for a time. J is now living at home and appears to be healthy.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY rating - 5

In spite of the extreme problems of the individual members, the T family seems to be quite close and to genuinely love one another and to have a certain optimism about their life. As Mrs. T puts it, "We have our share of problems and hard times, but there are lots of families who are in much worse shape." They have a perspective which is not usually found in a multi-problem family. Both compare their life to that of their families of birth and find that their life is much better. "We are happy with our kids and with what we have. Our own families had everything but were unhappy. Money doesn't buy everything."

However, the family's problems seem to overwhelm the close ties and good feelings about their familial life. Although Mr. T appears to be a fairly stable and competent person, his marked lack of self-confidence and withdrawal from family responsibilities at times does not enable him to compensate for Mrs. T's failure and inadequacies. Thus, the family functions at a very low level despite its close ties.

V. HEALTH

FAMILY HEALTH STATUS rating - 2

Mrs. T has had a long history of health problems including diabetes, gall bladder infection and extreme obesity. After her last child was born she had several miscarriages and was finally sterilized. Mr. T injured his back when working at Morse Chain in 1966 and again in 1970, so that he is unable to do any heavy lifting. The emotional and physical illnesses of the children have been outlined in the "Parental Relationships" section.

FAMILY HEALTH PRACTICES rating - 1

The health practices of the T family have been very poor due to ignorance and inadequate care of the children rather than deliberate neglect. J's malnutrition was due to lack of knowledge about how to provide an adequate diet for him. M's epilepsy was thought to be just growing pains.

MEMAKING

YSICAL FACILITIES AND HOMEMAKING RESPONSIBILITIES rating - 1

The T's have lived for 7 years in Ithaca and moved 7 times. The T's esently live in a six-room apartment on the second floor of a two-family use in a run-down working-class neighborhood in downtown Ithaca. When pressing her feelings about the neighborhood in which they live, Mrs. T id, "It's rough around here. There are gangs of kids who are always in ouble. But there are problems everyplace." The exterior is painted but imy with street dirt, some of the shingles are missing on the sagging ont porch and the yard is mostly trampled dirt. Inside, the Ts' apartment plain, but fairly neat, considering the crowding with 9 in the family.

MEMAKING PRACTICES rating - 2

Mrs. T indicates that she would like to spend more time caring for home and finds it difficult to manage. She doesn't feel that she gets ch help from her family with her tasks. "I scream at these kids all day help around the house and they don't do anything." Mr. T feels he eds to keep active and tries to keep occupied doing household chores en not employed. The atmosphere of the home and the life style of the ily tends toward being chaotic. "With 9 people living here, something happening every minute and everything seems a mess."

CIAL RELATIONSHIPS

CIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT rating - 3

Both Mrs. T 's parents are dead. Mrs. T says her father mistreated mother by beating her and forbidding her to go to a doctor when she ill with diabetes. He drank and ran around with other women. She two brothers in Newark, N. Y. whom she sees 2 or 3 times a year. ey usually come during the late spring and summer for picnics. Mrs. T els they are better off financially than her own family is. Now she els closer to her brothers than when she was growing up and turns to em for advice on her children and other concerns. She feels that she a lot in common with them. She also turns to her caseworker at the pt. of Social Service when faced with problems she feels she and her sband can't handle. Mrs. T feels her husband and her oldest daughter understand her better than other people she knows.

Mrs. T 's life is centered in her home. She rarely goes out except to visit her girl friend 2 or 3 times a week or to go shopping. Her married daughter calls her every day and sees her several times a week also.

Mr. T sees his brother and sister from Syracuse three or four times a year. Mr. T feels his brother is more successful than he is. "He always made the most of his opportunities." He received a degree at Rensalaer Polytechnic Institute. Mr. T appears to have almost no supportive interpersonal network in his family or outside his home, especially when problems mount up. Perhaps this explains his gratefulness towards the Department of Social Services and the Department of Public Works, both of whom apparently went to considerable lengths to help him and the family. He is especially isolated when he is not working.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT rating - 1

There is no indication that the relatives of either Mr. T or Mrs. T help the family out financially.

VIII. COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES rating - 6

The T family makes active use of community resources. Mr. and Mrs. T constantly turn to the Department of Social Services for help other than financial. At various times family members have used the services of the Mental Health Clinic and Family Court. Mr. T spoke highly of the schools in Ithaca. He said there has been a great deal of coordination between the schools and other agencies in helping the T's to deal with the children's problems.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COMMUNITY rating - 1

The T's belong to no organizations or clubs. Occasionally Mrs. T goes to P.T.A. meetings. They never participate in any community activities because "we've had too many problems at home." Mr. T mentioned that he frequently reads the Thompkins-Chemung Bulletin, a local activist newspaper oriented to the poor, and spoke with interest of some of the problems dealt with in the paper. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. T are registered voters.

IX. WELFARE AND FAMILY FINANCES

WELFARE HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating - 1

Mrs. T has been receiving public assistance off and on since she was 19 and estimates that the total number of years is about 17. Their case has been continously open since they moved to Ithaca in 1965, providing a steady source of income and help. Both of the T's say that the Department of Social Services has been very cooperative in Ithaca. Their caseworker has always responded when they needed help with family problems and the Department has tried to help Mr. T locate a job.

This was not true for the years in Auburn when Mr. T worked only sporadically and support from welfare was also unstable. Mr. T complained that they were constantly persecuted by the Welfare Department in Auburn. He was on the Work Relief program and whenever he didn't have a regular job he had to work for the city, cleaning up parks and so on. Mr. T said that he literally had to fight to get their caseworker.

WELFARE ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating - 1

Mrs. T doesn't like being on welfare but is greatful for its availability. "I don't know how we would get along if it weren't for welfare. My caseworker is like a mother to us, giving us what we need. We go to her when we need help." Mrs. T is not ashamed of receiving public assistance and feels that her family will always need some kind of help since neither she nor her husband will be able to work steadily. She feels their grant is adequate. Several of her friends are also on welfare.

FINANCIAL PRACTICES rating - 3

The T's have always worked out their finances together. When the money comes they set certain amounts aside for fixed expenses. Although their income is never adequate to meet their needs, the T's don't complain and somehow manage to keep going.

X. EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND PATTERNS rating - 1

Mrs. T is classified by us as a non-worker, since her only job was for 2 months at Ithaca College as a cleaning woman in Jan. and Feb., 1968. Mr. T found her the job while he was working there. She really enjoyed this work and appreciated the friendliness and cooperation of the students. "It seemed just like being at home." Mrs. T went to work because the doctor recommended it. She was getting too nervous staying home all the time, and he felt that this change in pace and environment would be helpful to her. "I thought I needed a change after all those kids." She did not continue because the person who was caring for the two youngest children mistreated them, according to Mrs. T. Although she regretted leaving her job, she felt that the welfare of her children was more important. "I'll stay home with my own kids so I can know what is going on." She also had to quit because her feet became swollen from all the climbing and standing.

Both the Ts' families have stable work histories. Mrs. T's father, worked for Newark State School for 11 years as a cook. Her brothers have worked there also, one for 25 years and the other one for 35 years. Some of their children are on the staff of the school. Her mother did not work. Mrs. T's uncle worked steadily at a factory.

EMPLOYMENT RESOURCES AND OBSTACLES rating - 1

There are many reasons why Mrs. T has not worked and why she probably will not. Certainly one of the major obstacles is her health. Being so over-weight and having diabetes and gall bladder trouble limits what she can do. "I'm afraid something will happen to me." Her many family problems and her dependence upon her husband mean that she would not be able to be responsible about being on the job. Thus, her illiteracy, lack of education and job training, and general incompetency would make it extremely hard for her to find a position and hold it. In addition, she still has a pre-schooler at home. Mrs. T also has a very ambivalent attitude toward working.

EMPLOYMENT ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENT rating - 1

Mrs. T has very mixed feelings about whether or not she would like to work. She is not able to generalize about women working and has ideas only about how working would affect her. Her ambivalence is expressed in this statement, "My husband doesn't like me to work. He feels that I have enough to do with all these kids. But, of course, if you don't have enough money to live on, then it is different." Her only motivation to work might be to help support the family. So long as the family is able to subsist on their welfare grant this motivation doesn't really exist. Her case worker knows Mrs. T's limitations and doesn't see her as a prospective worker.

In addition to the obstacles already noted, Mrs. T feels that working would be harmful to her childrem. "Something is always happening here. My kids need me. Even when my husband is here we can hardly manage." Her kin and friends do not encourage her to work. Working doesn't present to her any kind of status appeal, as she thinks that being a housewife has a higher status.

After her experience at Ithaca College, Mr. T feels strongly that Mrs. T should not work. "The doctor said it would be good for her, but she's too sick and worried about the kids, and it's just not worth it." On the other hand, he is able to express his ideas about women working in general, which Mrs. T could not do. He thinks that it is a good idea for women to work. He has worked side-by-side with women in factories and notes that they are pleasant to work with and that they work as hard as the men. In general, he says, "I'm all for it." Apparently, Mr. T is quite ambitious and enjoys work in general, as he spoke enthusiastically of getting overtime. He misses work now and is "tired of sitting around the house."

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS rating - 1

This lack of real motivation to work plus all the other obstacles makes it unlikely Mrs. T will seek any kind of employment in the future. She seems quite satisfied being immersed in her family.

XI. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF WORKING rating - 2

Although Mrs. T thinks of herself as competent and able to function in her various roles adequately, there is no evidence that this is true. She seems unable to provide a stable environment for the children or to give Mr. T the support that he needs. Her behavior is erratic, at times being very passive and at other times quite agitated. Mrs T tries hard, but seems to be unaware of the mistakes she is making and of her own limitations. She centers her life in her family, feeling close to her husband and children, trying to care for them, and having no life of her own despite an abortive attempt to work. Her own physical and intellectual limitations and general incompetence seem to restrict her role-functioning. Despite all this, Mrs. T is not defeated or overwhelmed, feeling that her life now is better than it was in the past. She enjoyed working those two months and enjoyed meeting new people. She also felt very comfortable, "just like at home."

It is difficult to predict how Mrs. T would react in a situation which was not comfortable and home-like. She seems to have no real desire to have a life or interests outside her family or home. One thing which working might do for her is to make her more aware of herself as a person and strengthen her self-identity. However, the conflict which might be created within her about her strong feelings that she should be home with her children might negate any growth on her part as a person.

Mr. T would probably like his wife to work. He doesn't seem threatened by working women and is quite supportive of the idea in general. But given all the conflict, the obstacles already noted, and his wife's general dependence on him, he might decide that helping her function as a worker in addition to all the rest that he does to keep the family going could be too much. It probably is easier to have her stay home.

It probably would not affect the functioning of the children whether Mrs. T is employed or not, since Mrs. T is not an effective mother. Her presence does not guarantee that she would function as a mother in any better way than if she were not there. Working would probably increase the difficulty she has in managing her home, adding to the confusion and problems which already exist.

IMPLICATIONS

The poverty in which the T's exist is as much psychological as economical. The schools and the Department of Social Services have apparently given considerable time and aid to the T's but more is needed. Mrs. T in particular needs continuous counseling, both practical and psychological. This seems to be the most pressing need. Perhaps volunteers might help fill the need in this respect. Participation in community activities might also be beneficial to Mrs. T. She is interested in these groups, particularly the P.T.A. and the Welfare Rights Organization, but is afraid to attend meetings because of her illiteracy and low self-esteem. Any efforts that would increase Mrs. T 's emotional stability and practical competence could have extremely beneficial effects for the family as a whole.

If Mrs. T were to try working again, it would be helpful if she had a thorough physical examination so that she would feel reassured that she had the proper medicine for her diabetes and had the consent and support of her doctor to seek employment. Perhaps she could have the assistance of a home economist from the Department of Social Services to help her organize her household tasks and to enlist the support and cooperation of her children. The homemaker might also be able to help her learn some housekeeping skills which Mrs. T could then use if she were to be employed as a cleaning woman. If she held such a job for a period of a year or more, she might learn to function more competently in her roles as well as increase her self-esteem. Since her youngest child will be in school next year, she might also come to feel that it might not be detrimental to her children to have her gone from home. It probably would be wise for Mrs. T to have a part-time job, at least until she was able to establish a routine for herself and accept the responsibilities which come with working. She might also use this part-time experience as a way of increasing her feeling of self-competence.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

OUTLINE OF THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED FOR INTENSIVE CASE STUDIES

I. The Woman - Individual Behavior and Adjustment

  A. Introductory Synopsis

    1. Work and welfare background

      a. work typology
      b. summary of work history
      c. current status
      d. usual occupation
      e. training skills
      f. employment obstacles and prospects
      g. welfare relationships

    2. The woman

      a. appearance
      b. self-condept
      c. personality and temperament
      d. role functioning
      e. locus of control

    3. The family

      a. children

        1) age and number
        2) functioning

      b. marital

        1) changes in past
        2) current status
        3) husband's occupation
        4) husband's functioning
        5) marital relationship

      c. family solidarity
      d. location and appearance of home
      e. homemaking standards
      f. health

B. Self-concept

1. self-esteem
2. self-image
3. characteristics she attributes to self
4. concept of femininity
5. adjectives others would use to describe her

C. Locus of control

1. outlook on life
2. determination of destiny
    a. feelings about degree of control over circumstances of life
    b. feelings about changes in life
    c. goals and hopes for future
3. woman's evaluation of present situation
4. best times and worst times in past
5. desired changes in life if relliving it

II. Marital Relationship

A. Husband's functioning and adjustment

1. work history
2. husband's usual occupation
3. husband's current work status
4. husband's age, education, and other information
5. husband's functioning
6. husband's self-concept
    a. self-esteem and image
    b. characteristics he attributes to self

B. Marital solidarity

1. marital solidarity
    a. divorces and separations
    b. current status
        1) desire to remarry (if appropriate)
        2) feelings about dating, men, etc. (if appropriate)

B. (continued)

2. roles of husband and wife
    a. who is head of the house
    b. decision making
    c. settlement of arguments
    d. subjects of arguments
3. current feelings about marriage
    a. what changes are needed
    b. how marriage is going presently
4. women's evaluation of relationship between husband and wife

III. Parental Relationship

A. Adjustment to maternal role

1. acceptance of role
    a. feelings about being a mother
    b. feelings about children
2. size of family
    a. birth control attitudes
    b. acceptance or rejection of current family size

B. Child-rearing Practices

1. discipline
    a. attitude toward discipline
    b. degree of cooperation between parents
    c. kinds of discipline used
    d. effects on children
2. values and beliefs taught to children
3. limits and expectations for children
4. general care of children
    a. physical
    b. emotional
5. children's future
    a. aspirations of children
    b. aspirations of parents for children
    c. how things will be going for children in comparison to parents

B. (continued)

6. marriage ideals

a. ideal husband for daughter
b. ideal wife for son

C. Children's functioning and adjustment

1. over-all description of children's behavior and adjustment
2. description of each child

a. how he is doing in school
b. interests
c. friends
d. special strengths and problems
e. self-concept and personality

D. Family solidarity

1. description of current state of family solidarity
2. intra-family relationships

a. among siblings
b. between parents and children
c. for the family as a whole

3. communal activities and interests

IV. Health

A. Health problems of family members
B. Health practices

V. Homemaking

A. Physical facilities and homemaking responsibilities

1. appearance of yard and outside of house
2. description of neighborhood
3. appearance and condition of inside of house

a. furnishings and rooms
b. standard of housekeeping

B. Homemaking practices

1. role as homemaker
2. attitude toward housekeeping
3. help given by other family members
4. housekeeping routines and practices

VI. Social Relationships

- A. Social relationships and emotional support
  - 1. family background
    - a. background of husband's parents
    - b. background of wife's parents
    - c. childhood of woman
    - d. childhood of husband
    - e. location of kin currently
    - f. closeness of kin ties currently
      - 1) visits, calls, letters
      - 2) emotional support
      - 3) kin relationships
        - a) siblings
        - b) parents
  - 2. friendships
    - a. attitude toward others - sociability
    - b. current friends
      - 1) frequency of contacts
      - 2) activities together
      - 3) relationships with friends
  - 3. use of leisure time
    - a. use of extra hours
    - b. activities, projects, hobbies done by self
  - 4. assistance and advice
    - a. individuals and groups used for help and advice about problems
    - b. feelings about seeking help
    - c. role of woman as helper and advisor to others
- B. Financial support
  - 1. sources of financial assistance in emergencies
  - 2. feelings about needing this kind of help

B. Employment obstacles and resources

1. obstacles
    - a. inadequate child care arrangements - pre-schoolers
    - b. lack of training or skills
    - c. lack of transportation
    - d. need for mother to be home full time
    - e. lack of motivation
    - f. poor health or handicap
    - g. attitude of husband
    - h. age

2. resources
    - a. age
    - b. training and skills and experience
    - c. adequate child care arrangements
    - d. adequate transportation
    - e. no pre-schoolers
    - f. no real need for mother to be home
    - g. strong motivation to work
    - h. supportive attitude of husband
    - i. desire to be independent of public assistance
    - j. good health

C. Employment attitudes and adjustment

1. general attitudes towards women working
    - a. by woman
    - b. by husband

2. feelings about woman's working
    - a. by self
    - b. by husband
    - c. by friends and kin

3. job preference
    - a. ideal job and worst job
    - b. job she liked best

4. would she work if adequate income guaranteed
5. benefits and detriments for family when woman works

VII. Community Relationships

- A. Use of community resources
  1. which agencies and organizations used by family
  2. attitude toward helping institutions and persons
- B. Contribution to community
  1. membership and participation in clubs and organizations
  2. volunteer activities
  3. involvement in social action and change
  4. registration and voting practices
  5. reading of newspapers

VIII. Welfare and Family Finances

- A. Welfare relationships
  1. kin and friends receiving public assistance
  2. family's relationships with case worker and Department
- B. Welfare attitudes and adjustment
  1. family feelings about public assistance in general
  2. suggestions for change in welfare system
- C. Financial practices
  1. money management
     - a. decision-making by husband and wife
     - b. handling of the money
  2. attitude towards money and income
     - a. satisfaction or dissatisfaction with present income
     - b. financial aspirations or goals

IX. Employment

- A. Employment history and patterns
  1. dates, type work, attitudes, special problems and satisfactions, reasons for leaving, etc. for each job where possible
  2. employment history of kin
     - a. siblings and parents of woman
     - b. siblings and parents of husband

X. Conclusions

A. Future employment prospects

1. assessment of current employment obstacles and resources of woman
    - a. evaluation of possibilities for
        - 1) promotions
        - 2) job training
        - 3) change of jobs
            - a) increase in status
            - b) decrease in status
        - 4) re-entry into job market if unemployed
        - 5) entry into job market if non-worker
2. job typology
    - a. possibility of change to another category
    - b. possibility of remaining in same category

B. Summary of effects of working

1. on self
2. on children
3. on husband
4. on homemaking
5. on future of woman and family

C. Implications

1. a summation of unique findings of case
2. statement of what changes need to take place for optimum functioning of family in relationship to work and welfare
3. over-all evaluation of the woman and her family's functioning

APPENDIX II

WELFARE CASE HISTORY INFORMATION SHEET

Name ____________________

Our ID # ____________

Date interviewed ____________

I. WELFARE HISTORY

1. Date case first opened ________ Reason given ____________________

____

2. Number of reopenings _____ Briefly list reasons for each reopening _____

____

____

3. Duration of assistance for each time case was opened: ____________

____

4. Reasons for closing case (specify for each time)

Reason	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
a. family moved						
b. husband found work						
c. he returned to family - now supporting						
d. he recovered from illness or disability - now supporting						
e. woman found work						
f. person outside family supporting - specify relationship						
g. money from new source makes up deficit - OASI, insurance, Workman's Comp., veterans benefits, etc						
h. other (specify)						

5. Any evidence of welfare assistance in other places? Specify # of times ____

6. Any evidence of parents being on Welfare?

   a. none
   b. once, for less than one year
   c. sporadically
   d. consistently, or for a long period of time

Welfare Case History Information Sheet
ID # ________________

7. Any evidence of regular contact with any other agencies? (Specify whether mother, father, young child, or teenager involved) Specify nature of contact if possible.

   a. Family Court
   b. Mental Health Clinic
   c. School contacts - nurse, social worker, guidance counselor, etc.
   d. Planned Parenthood
   e. MOVE
   f. Human Affairs Program
   g. OEO
   h. other

8. One year ago, was this woman: (check all relevant categories) (July 1969)

   a. on welfare __________
   b. not on welfare __________
   c. working __________
   d. not working __________
   e. married __________
   f. separated, divorced, widowed, etc. __________
   g. information not available __________

   For coding purposes only: p 1 = cell 1, p2 = cell 2 etc. thru 8 __________

9. Two years ago (July 1968), please check which of the categories in # 8 applied to this woman (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g)

10. Did R's parents or grandparents come from a foreign country? ____________

    If so, which one ____

11. Is any language other than English spoken in the home? Yes _____ No _____

    Specify ____

12. If yes, does R have any language problem? How well does she speak English:

    a. good English - no accent _____
    b. good English, but definite accent _____
    c. some comprehension and speaking difficulty _____
    d. considerable language problem - considerable difficulty; in understanding respondent or getting respondent to understand due to difficulty with English _____

13. Caseworker's impression of R:

    a. bright _____
    b. average _____
    c. dull _____

Welfare Case History Information Sheet
ID # ________________

14. Any evidence that this woman is active in church, school, community organizations or activities? Please specify the nature of any activities.

MARIAL HISTORY

1. Number of legal marriages ____ Number of common law marriages ____

Please provide this information for each legal or common law marriage.

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
1. date of marriage				
2. # children from marriage				
3. separations: a. none b. infrequent c. frequent				
4. Divorce or death of spouse (or legal separation for current marriages)				

MARITAL PROBLEMS OBSERVED (check off) -

1. woman unfaithful _____
2. husband unfaithful _____
3. child by another man during marriage _____
4. alcoholism - wife _____
5. alcoholism - husband _____
6. criminal record - husband - note charges, convictions, duration of sentences - below _____
7. job instability of husband - due to poor work habits _____
8. job instability of husband due to lack of job skills _____
9. mental - emotional problems - wife _____
10. mental - emotional problems - husband _____
11. woman expresses strong dislike or hostility toward men _____
12. other _____

Welfare Case History Information Sheet
ID # ____________

CHILDREN

1. Total number of children ________

2. Number of different fathers ________

3. Any physical handicaps - children (if so, please note consequences such as special equipment, special classes, therapy, etc.)

4. Any mental handicaps - children (please comment as above)

5. Any serious academic and/or disciplinary problems at school

6. Any indications of any children in trouble with law? Please specify.

DAY CARE If woman works,
what day care arrangements does she use for children aged:

	0 - 2 yrs	3 - 5 yrs	6 - 12 yrs	over 12 yrs
Sitter in own home				
Unlicensed sitter-other home (include relatives)				
Father or adult relative - own home				
Licensed home				
Group care (Head Start, Day Care Center, etc)				
Older siblings provide care				
Neighbor looks after				

2. Did the woman make these arrangements herself or did the caseworker arrange them for her?
   a. self ____
   b. caseworker ____

3. How much of the total cost of these services is reimbursed by the Welfare Department? ________________

Welfare Case History Information Sheet
ID # ______________

WORK HISTORY

1. Reasons for seeking work (please specify for each job acquired while on Welfare)

	1st job	2nd job	3rd job	4th job	5th job	6th job
a. (Hu absent) - Dept's urging						
b. (Hu present, disabled) - as above						
c. (Hu present, working) as above						
d. woman sought job on her own						
e. employer sought out woman & offered her a job						
f. other						

2. For all jobs known, please provide (a) name or description of job; (b) name of employer and town; (c) duration job held; (d) reason for leaving; (e) wages; (f) hours worked (#)

3. Welfare consequences of finding work (for each job)

   a. case closed
   b. supplementary financial assistance

Welfare Case History Information Sheet
ID # ________________

4. Any record of job training (both on and away from job), adult education classes, high school equivalency classes? Please note agency providing instruction, occupation or courses studied, location, date, and outcome.

5. Is there any evidence of the husband's attitude toward his wife's working?

Please note any other factors related to this woman's employability (or lack) and her marriage which you don't think would be picked up by the above questions. Which factors do you feel most strongly hinder or prevent her from steadily holding a job? What factors favor her finding and keeping a job? Has she expressed any attitudes toward working? Are there any indications of the effects that her working may have had on herself and her family?

APPENDIX III

CASE STUDIES - FATHER INTERVIEW

Interviewer______________________________

Father___________________________________

Date________________________

IRGOP #_____________________

After some introductory statements of who you are and why you are there, you could briefly review former contacts with the family through the original questionnaire which was done about a year or two ago and through the two interviews which were done with the wife following this. Explain that the questionnaire is long enough so that two interviews are required and that they will be paid for each one. See how they feel about your using the tape recorder explaining that it is a help in making sure that what they are saying is accurately recorded.

Start out the actual interview by finding out their work history starting with their present job. Find out beginning date, whether it is full time or part time, the name of the employer and what his position or responsibility is. Then go backwards to the first job noting in addition the date each job ended and the periods of unemployment. Later when writing up this data, it can be put in the form of a table such as:

Job or Unemployment Period	Starting Date	Termination Date	Full time or Part time

FATHER'S FIRST JOB

What did you do on your first job?

What did you like about it?

What did you not like about it?

How did you find this job?

How did you feel about the people you worked with?

What were your contacts with your fellow workers outside of work?

What were the main reasons you decided to go to work?

What were the main reasons you left your first job?

How would you compare your first job and your life then with how things are for you now? Why?

FATHER'S FIRST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT WHEN MARRIED

What was it that prevented you from working?

How long was your first period of unemployment after you were married?

Besides the financial problems, what were the main problems for your family when you were not working?

How was your family supported during this period?

What did you do with the time you usually spent working?

How did you feel about not working?

What effect did your not working have on your wife?

What are the advantages of not working?

What changes did it bring in your relationship with her?

How did your not working effect your time with your children and your relationship with them?

How did being unemployed affect what you did around the house - tasks in and outside of the house?

Did your not working affect the arrangements for caring for the children?

How did you find your next job?

How did you feel about working again?

CURRENT JOB SITUATION

How did you happen to take the job you have now? If your present job had not been available, where would you have looked for a job?

Could you describe what you do on your job?

What would you say are the best parts of the job - the things you enjoy most about it?

What do you dislike most about it? What can you do about these problems?

Do you ever feel like quitting your job? Why? Have you thought about finding a different job?

In general, how do you like the people you work with? Do you see them when you are not working? What kinds of things do you do together?

What opportunities do you think there are for a better position for you at the place you are now working?

Which do you prefer - your present job or your first job? Why?

WORK ATTITUDES

Right now if you could have any sort of job you wanted, what would you be doing?"

What are the main reasons you work?

If you had all the money you needed, do you think you still would work?

Would you consider going back to school or job training in order to get a better job?

Could you describe for me the best job you ever had?

WIFE WORKING

Do you think women who work really want to?

How do you think most men feel about having their wives work?

How do you feel about your wife working?

What would you say were the main reasons she has worked?

Was it mainly her decision or yours that she has worked?

How do you think she feels about working in general?

If she is currently working, how does she feel about her job?

Are you satisfied with the kind of job she has?

How would you feel about your wife going back to school or getting some kind of job training in order to get a better job?

Has she done this?

Is she planning to?

Whose decision is this?

In what ways do you think you are helpful to your wife when she works?

In what ways are her home responsibilities with housekeeping, children and husband changed when she works? Note changes in meal preparation, child care.

How do you feel about these changes?

In what ways are your home responsibilities with household tasks and children changed when your wife works? How do you feel about this?

What do you do around the house specifically? How do you feel about this?

How do your wife's family and her friends feel about her working?

In summary, what do you think are the advantages and disadvantages in your wife working?

How do you really feel about her being employed? (Probe this for feeling of being put-upon, neglected, threatened, etc.)

CHILD CARE WHEN BOTH PARENTS WORK

When you wife has worked in the past, who has cared for the children?

If your wife is working now, who cares for the children?

Are you satisfied with these present arrangements?

What happens when the children are sick?

How do you feel about having someone else care for your children?

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Do you and wife agree on how your children should be raised?

How do you work out your differences on raising the children?

What do you think your responsibilities are toward your children?

How do you feel about this?

How are your responsibilities toward your sons different than your your responsibilities toward your daughters?

What do you think your wife's responsibilities are toward the children?

How do you think she feels about this?

What do you think your children like and dislike about you as a father?

What do you think your strengths are as a family?

What do you think are your main family problems?

What kinds of things do you do together as a family?

Are things going better with some of the children than others?

Which child is the one with the most problems? Why?

What kind of man do you think would make the best husband for your daughter?

How would you like your daughter's life to be - the same or different than her mother's?

What kind of woman would make an ideal wife for your son?

How would you like your son's life to be - the same or different from yours?

Does your family have regular meals together?

What kinds of things do you do with your children? How regularly does this happen?

MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

What kinds of things do you do with your wife? How regularly does this happen?

How do you think things will be for you and your wife in the future?

Families keep track of the money and bills in different ways. How do you work this out in your family?

*Do you have support payments for children from your former marriage?

What are some of the main things you both have disagreed about?

What are the good things - the strengths - of your marriage?

*Do not ask this if father has not been married before.

LEISURE TIME - COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES - SOCIAL RELATIONS

Outside of the people you work with, do you see many other people besides your immediate family?

Whom do you see and how often?

What kinds of things do you do together?

What do you usually do on weekends?

Who are your best friends? How often do you see them?

When you are not with your family and friends or working, what kinds of things do you do with your spare time?

What kinds of things do you like to do by yourself?

What clubs or organizations do you belong to? How active are you?

What kinds of things do you think you can do to make your community a better place in which to live?

How often do you read a newspaper? A book?

Did you vote in the last national election?

Do you see your own relatives very often?

Among your relatives, to whom do you feel the closest? Why?

To whom among your relatives do you not feel close? Why?

Did your mother work when you were growing up?

How much did she work and what kinds of jobs did she have?

Why was she working?

Did she enjoy it?

Is she working now?

How did your mother's working effect your family and you as you were growing up?

What kind of work did your father do when you were growing up?

Were there times when he was not working?

How was your family supported during these times of unemployment?

Is your father working now?

What kinds of contacts do you have with your wife's family?

What kinds of work do your brothers and sisters do?

WELFARE

How do you feel about the welfare system of our country?

What is good about it?

What is bad about it?

Have you known families who were receiving welfare checks?

Have you ever found it necessary to be on welfare?

How did you feel about that?

Have you ever received food stamps, medicaid, or surplus food also but not received checks from the Department of Social Services?

What do you think could be done to improve the welfare system?

What does your wife feel about welfare? Your relatives and friends?

SELF AND LOCUS OF CONTROL

Thinking back over your life so far, when would you say things really were at their worst - when everying really seemed to be going wrong?

When would you say things were really going well - better than before?

Everyone has bad days. What do you do when you have this kind of day?

If you had it to do over again, what do you think you would most like to change about your life?

What was the last grade you completed in school?

Why did you leave school?

If you had it to do over again, would you have stayed in school?

How do you think your friends might describe you as a person?

How do you think your wife might describe you as a person?

What do you think most men mean when they say a woman is feminine. Is this your definition, too?

Do you feel that you have some kind of control over what happens to you? That there is something you can do about your problems?

If you were in trouble or needed help or advice, to what organization or person would you go? Do people come to you for help?

HEALTH

Do you have any health disabilities at the present moment?

Were you in the armed forces? What was the reason for your discharge?

If it was for service-related problems, could you describe them - how they are effecting you now.

Did you have any health problems when you were a child? How have these effected your working?

Have you had any injuries or serious illnesses which have interfered with your working? When and how did these take place and what effect did these have on your job?

APPENDIX IV

HEALTH QUESTIONNAIRE

Minor Disabilities

Major Disabilities

Operations

Illnesses

# Pregnancies

# Living Children

# Miscarriages

# Premature Births

Age of first pregnancy

MEDICAL EXAM

Positive Physical findings

Dental Exam

SUMMARY OF EFFECTS OF HEALTH PROBLEMS ON WORK

APPENDIX V

FAMILY FUNCTIONING RATING SHEET

Case name	Case number	Work typology	Rater	Summary Score

Categories	Total Score							
Demographic info. on woman (plus or minus)		age	education	No. of children	work skills	race or ethnic background	welfare status	work status
Family changes (plus or minus)		welfare	marital	work husband	work wife	self	health	other
Synopsis of woman and family		Over-all score of level of functioning of family				Over-all score of functioning of woman		
Woman		Self-concept				Locus of control		
Marital Relationship		Husband's functioning				Marital solidarity		
Parental Relationship		Acceptance of maternal role		Child-rearing practices		Children's functioning	Family solidarity	
Health		Health problems				Health practices		
Homemaking		Physical facilities and needs				Homemaking practices		
Social Relations		Social Relationships and emotional support				Financial support		
Community		Use of community resources				Contribution to community		
Welfare and family finances		Welfare history and adjustment		Welfare attitudes			Financial management	
Employment		Employment history		Employment obstacles & resources		Employment attitudes	Future employment prospects	
Effects of working		on self		on children		on husband	on homemaking	

APPENDIX VI

CRITERIA FOR FAMILY FUNCTIONING RATING SHEET (ADOPTED FROM GEISMAN)

Demographic information (as of December 1970)

(plus or minus used for rating)

Age	plus	20 to 39 years of age
	minus	40 to 65 years of age
Education	plus	completed 10th grade or above
	minus	completed 9th grade or below
Number of children	plus	one to four children
	minus	four or more children
Work skills	plus	any job training or skills learned in school
	minus	lack of any skills useful in obtaining a job
Race or ethnic background	plus	native white
	minus	non-white or ethnic background
Current welfare status	plus	no longer receiving public assistance
	minus	receiving public assistance
Current work status	plus	employed
	minus	not employed

Family changes from January 1960 to December 1970

(plus or minus used for rating changes; zero indicates no change)

Welfare changes	plus	off public assistance or significant decrease in dependency
	minus	continuously on public assistance or significant increase in dependency
Marital changes	plus	gains support or husband or ends unhappy marriage
	minus	ends happy marriage through death, separation, or divorce, or loses support
Husband's work	plus	continuously working or improvement in job status
	minus	long or frequent periods of unemployment or lowers job status
Wife's work	plus	continuously working or improvement in job status
	minus	long or frequent periods of unemployment or lowers job status
Woman	plus	gain in self-esteem, identity, independence or motivation
	minus	loss of self-esteem, identity, independence or motivation

Health changes	plus	improvement in past condition facilitated functioning
	minus	illness or injury interfered with work or family functioning
Other changes	plus	changes which resulted in improvement of family functioning
	minus	crises which effect family functioning

Synopsis of woman and family

Over-all score of level of functioning of family over eleven-year period	7	fairly continuous high level of functioning and independence
	4	socially acceptable functioning
	1	inadequate functioning, dependency
Over-all score of level of functioning of woman over eleven-year period	7	fairly continuous high level of functioning and independence
	4	socially acceptable functioning
	1	inadequate functioning, dependency

Woman

Self-concept	7	high sense of self-esteem and personal efficacy. Sound self-image.
	1	very low self-esteem. Poor self-image
Locus of control	7	strong evidence of own efforts to effect change in her life and belief that this is possible
	1	fatalistic view of life. No hope for future. No efforts on her part to effect change in life.

Marital

Husband's functioning	7	steady worker or ability to cope with unemployment. Important to family solidarity. Strong, competence, mature man
	1	unable to hold steady job. Inability to function well due to drinking, immaturity, gambling or emotional problems. Weakens family solidarity
Marital solidarity	7	husband present with positive and supportive relationship with wife
	1	husband absent. Non-supportive. High degree of conflict and non-communication in relationship

Parental relationship

Adjustment to maternal role	7 -	mother's acceptance of responsibility and satisfaction in perfomring maternal functions.
	1 -	resentment of maternal role. Inability to cope with responsibilities of parenting.
Child-rearing practices	7 -	high degree of concern for child's welfare Effective discipline. Good physical care. Involvement in children's activities. High aspirations for children.
	1 -	Inadequate physical care. Low involvement in children's activities. Very limited understanding of children. Erratic discipline
Children's functioning	7 -	achieving in school, adjusted socially, no major behavioral problems
	1 -	serious behavioral problems, not achieving in school at potential level, immature social adjustment
Family solidarity	7 -	much shared activity and interaction among family members. High degree of family cohesiveness and loyalty
	1 -	little or no shared activities or interaction. Much conflict and low degree of cohesiveness.

Health

Health problems	7 -	no serious illnesses or injuries which interfered with individual or family functioning
	1 -	serious illnesses or injuries which interfered with individual or family functioning in detrimental manner
Health practices	7 -	high level of use and knowledge about community health resources. Effective health precautions and nutrition
	1 -	ineffective use and knowledge of health resources in community. Low level of health precautions and pracices. Poor nutrition

Homemaking

Physical facilities and needs	7 -	house inside and out in good condition and appearance. Spacious and adequate furnishings and appliances. Light homemaking responsibilities
	1 -	house inside and out in rundown and poor repair. Dirty and messy in appearance. Inadequate furnishings and appliances. Not enough space. Heavy home responsibilities.
Homemaking practices	7 -	efficient routines for household tasks and assistance from family. Positive attitude toward role of homemaker. Ability to maintain smoothly run home.
	1 -	disorganized running of household. No assistance from family. Feeling of being overwhelmed or rejection of homemaking role.

Social relationships

Social relationships and emotional support	7 -	close relationships with kin and friends. Positive attitude toward human relationships. Readily available sources of emotional support. Not isolated.
	1 -	no close relationships with kins or friends. No available sources of emotional support. Isolated and loner.
Financial support	7 -	Friends and kin able to give emergency financial assistance or assist regularly. Family able to live with kin or friends if necessary
	1 -	kin and friends unwilling or unable to give financial assistance or lodging

Community

Use of community resources	7 -	high use and knowledge of community resources. Positive attitude toward asking for needed help.
	1 -	little knowledge or use of community resources. Negative attitude toward seeking needed assistance
Contribution to community	7 -	involvement in organizations as a volunteer or member. Participation in social change.
	1 -	no volunteer or membership participation.

Welfare and family finances

Welfare history and adjustment	7 -	receiving assistance less than two years out of eleven years. High level of independence and motivation toward no assistance or only partial assistance.
	1 -	on public assistance for two or more years out of the eleven years. High level of dependency. Poor motivation towards independence.
Welfare attitudes	7 -	strongly dislikes receiving public assistance. Actively working to become or remain independent as possible
	4 -	ambivalent. Regards welfare as a right but prefers being independent if possible
	1 -	high degree of dependency. Prefers receiving public assistance to other means of support.
Financial management	7 -	careful planning and spending of income Agreement on financial matters by husband and wife.
	1 -	erratic and compulsive spending. No planning. Always in debt unnecessarily.

Employment

Employment history	7 -	steady worker typology
	5-6 -	periodic worker typology
	3-4 -	sporadic worker typology
	1-2 -	non-worker typology
Employment obstacles and resources	7 -	no significant obstacles to employment (training, good motivation, no preschoolers, transportation, etc.)
	1 -	many obstacles to employment (preschoolers, poor motivation and training, husband forbids wife to work, poor health or injuries, etc.)
Employment attitudes	7 -	prefers to work, work more pretigious than being housewife, supportive husband, likes independence, work has changed her outlook on life and her personality.
	1 -	more prestigious to be housewife, dislikes working, prefers to stay home, sees few personal satisfactions in working, too many obstacles to working.

Future employment prospects	7 -	high potential for promotion, upward change in job status, strong possibility of entry or re-entry into job market, challenging job training available
	1 -	no potential for promotion, possible lowering of job status, strong need or desire to remain non-worker, no desire for training or change in job status upwards

Effects of working

On woman	7 -	feels independent, competent, "new life", raises self-esteem, increases sociability
	1 -	work debilitates woman physically and emotionally, is degrading and demoralizing, makes her resentful
On children	7 -	enjoys children more, provides good child care arrangements, increases income for material things for children, children supportive of mother working, no increase in behavioral or school problems, children not neglected.
	1 -	feels guilty about leaving children, inadequate child care arrangements, little increase in income for children, children resent her working, significant increase in behavioral and school problems.
On husband	7 -	husband proud of wife working and assists her in household and child care tasks, husband doesn't feel threatened, more in common between couple, husband feels relief at additional income.
	1 -	emasculates husband who is resentful, strongly objects to wife working, feels she is neglecting children and him, husband feels she is too tired and can't enjoy being with him, gives no assistance with house or children.
On homemaking	7 -	more efficient, gets more assistance from family, household running as smoothly or more smoothly than when full-time housewife.
	1 -	no time or energy for basic housekeeping, inadequate meals, no assistance from family, sharp downward change in housekeeping standards.

APPENDIX VII
CASE STUDY OUTLINE

I. Demographic Information and Family Chronology
  A. Basic demographic information (as of Dec. 1970)
    1. Miscellaneous
      a. age
      b. education
      c. race or ethnic background
      d. children and ages

    2. Marital
      a. current status
      b. number of marriages
      c. number of divorces or separations
      d. husband's age
      e. husband's employment
      f. husband's usual occupation
    3. Welfare (Jan. 1960 to Dec. 1970)
      a. current status
      b. number of years on welfare
      c. number of times case closed
    4. Employment
      a. current status
      b. employment typology
      c. skills
      d. usual occupation
      e. total number of months employed out of 11 years
      f. total number of full-time jobs held
      g. total number of part-time jobs held
      h. total number of jobs held
      i. longest period of employment
      j. average job duration
      k. total number of months unemployed
      l. total number of periods unemployed
      m. longest period of unemployment
  B. Chronology showing important changes in the family
    1. Birth dates
    2. Marital changes
    3. Husband's work changes

   4. Wife's work changes
   5. Welfare changes
   6. Other changes

II. The Woman - Individual Behavior and Adjustment
   A. Introduction
      1. Description of Woman and her family
         a. strengths
         b. problems
         c. major changes
      2. Summary of work and welfare status
   B. Self-concept and Evaluation
      1. Own feelings about self
      2. Evaluation of esteem, independence, competence, etc.
      3. Comparison to others
      4. Description by others
      5. Major problems and satisfacitons
      6. Attempts at self improvement
   C. Locus of Control
      1. Outlook on life
      2. Attitudes towards changes in life
      3. Worst and best times in life
      4. Future hopes and goals

III. Marital Relationship
   A. Husband's Functioning and Adjustment
      1. Employment status
      2. Employment history
      3. Usual occupation and skills
      4. Work attitudes
      5. Health
      6. Self-evaluation
      7. Evaluation of husband
   B. Marital Solidarity
      1. Marital history
      2. Areas of conflict and satisfaction
      3. Decision-making patterns
      4. Closeness of wife and husband

  5. Own feelings about marital role
  6. Evaluation of role as wife

IV. Parental Relationship
- A. Adjustment to Maternal Role
  1. Satisfaction with family size
  2. Own feelings about maternal role
  3. Evaluation of role as mother
- B. Child-rearing Practices
  1. Physical care
  2. Knowledge about children
  3. Attitude toward discipline and behavior
  4. Nurturance
  5. Values and aspirations for children
- C. Children's Functioning and Adjustment
  1. Children's progress in school
  2. Friends and activities
  3. Behavior and health problems
- D. Family Solidarity
  1. Child-parent relationships
  2. Sibling relationships
  3. Family interaction and activities

V. Health
- A. Family Health Status
  1. History
  2. Current problems
- B. Health Practices
  1. Knowledge of health resources
  2. Preventive practices
  3. Ways of coping with illness

VI. Homemaking
- A. Physical Facilities and Homemaking Responsibilities
  1. Physical setting of home
  2. Community
  3. Condition of inside of home and its furnishings
  4. Extent of household responsibilities and resources

- B. Homemaking Practices
  - 1. Assistance from family
  - 2. Own feelings about homemaking role
  - 3. Evaluation of her role as homemaker

VII. Social Relationships - Kin and Friends

- A. Social Relationships and Emotional Support
  - 1. Kin
    - a. background information
    - b. relationship and visits
    - c. emotional support and assistance
  - 2. Friends
    - a. relationships and visits
    - b. emotional support and assistance
- B. Financial Support
  - 1. From kin
  - 2. From friends

VIII. Community Relationships

- A. Use of Community Resources
  - 1. Knowledge of services
  - 2. Who to turn to with problems
  - 3. How services were used
- B. Contribution to Community
  - 1. Involvement in clubs and organizations
  - 2. Involvement in social change
  - 3. Voting practices

IX. Welfare and Family Finances

- A. Welfare History and Patterns
  - 1. Reasons for opening and closing case
  - 2. Relationship with Case Worker and Department
  - 3. Prospects for independence from welfare
- B. Welfare Attitudes and Adjustment
  - 1. General acceptance or rejection of being a client
  - 2. Attitudes of friends and kin
  - 3. Problems and suggestions for improvement of services

C. Financial Practices
  1. Sources of income and adequacy
  2. Standard of living
  3. How financial decisions are made
  4. How money is spent

X. Employment
  A. Employment History and Patterns
    1. Family employment history
    2. Reasons for employment and periods of unemployment
    3. Types and number of jobs
    4. How jobs were found
  B. Employment Obstacles and Resources
    1. Job training and attitudes towards it
    2. Day care
      a. use of it
      b. adequacy and attitudes towards it
    3. Transportation
    4. Other obstacles and resources
  C. Employment Attitudes and Adjustment
    1. Reasons for working and not working
    2. Attitude of husband, kin and friends about her working
    3. Attitudes towards current job
    4. Attitudes toward fellow workers
    5. Own feelings about worker role
  D. Future Employment Prospects
    1. Prospects for promotions in present job
    2. Ideal job
    3. Own feelings about improving job status
    4. Evaluation of role as worker

XI. Conclusions
  A. Summary of Effects of Working on:
    1. The woman
    2. Welfare status of family
    3. The family and its functioning
      a. marital relationship
      b. parental relationship
      c. homemaking
  B. Implications